

THE
SECRET HISTORY
OF
EUROPE.

PART IV. and Last.

CONTAINING,

- I. An Account of the Correspondence between the *Jacobites* in *England*, and *those* at *St. Germain's*.
- II. A Conspiracy of the *Tories* after the Death of Queen *MARY*, to set aside King *WILLIAM*. With a farther Detection of the *Lancashire Assassination* and *Invasion* PLOTS.
- III. Sir *John Fenwick's* TRYAL and ATTAINDER, with the Debates in the House of Lords, and his Confession to a Minister of State. Taken from an Original Manuscript.
- IV. A Discovery of the *Bribery* and *Corruption* of the *Tory* Managers in the Reign of King *WILLIAM*.
- V. The Bishops Declaration against *Passive-Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*, with Remarks by one of that Reverend Order.
- VI. An APPENDIX, Containing the Debates in Parliament in the Case of the Earl of *Clarendon's* Impeachment, and the Proceedings against him after his Flight.

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SECRET HISTORY

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9 A.R.T. 14 and 14a

DEKINTHO



TO HIS
Royal HIGHNESS
THE
PRINCE of Wales.

SIR,

I Should not have presum'd to lay this
History at your Royal Highness's Feet,
had it not been written with a Loyal In-
tention to serve the Protestant Successi-
on in your Illustrious House, at a Time,
when to assert the British Constitution was
term'd Faction and Sedition; and it was be-
come Merit with the Ministry to insult the
Revolution, and the Acts of Settlement
founded upon it, the only Security of our
Religion and Liberties.

THE DEDICATION.

Your Royal Highness will see here how the Enemies to both have behav'd themselves for Fifty Years; how they have labour'd to introduce Popery and Slavery; how they have contributed to the Greatness of the Power of France, and hinder'd its being reduc'd into due Bounds; what Pretences they have always made use of to colour those ill Designs, and that they have even affected an extraordinary Zeal for the Crown and Church, with an Intention only to corrupt them with Superstition and Tyranny.

They were never nearer accomplishing their wicked Purposes, than when Providence by a most surprizing Event sent his Majesty to deliver us once more out of their Hands. Our Danger was not greater when King WILLIAM of immortal Memory wrought our first Deliverance, and our Happiness in the second is attended with a Prospect of future Security, which makes the Blessing invaluable, and fills every British Heart with Satisfaction and Joy.

The Extent of our Felicity may be best judg'd by the sad Condition of our Enemies, while a Prince endow'd with so many Heroic and Christian Virtues reigns in these Kingdoms, and is surrounded with a Royal Progeny, Heirs alike to his Virtues and his Dominions. No Hope remains for an enrag'd, disappointed Faction, who like the fallen Angels, can only look up from their Regions of
Dark-

THE DEDICATION.

Darkness, on the glorious Light that enlightens and enlivens us, with that Malice and Envy which are the Effects of their bellish Rage and Despair.

'Twas the delightful View of his Majesty's wise and gracious Government which animated all true Britains in the late Times of Difficulty and Peril, to observe narrowly the insidious Arts of those that wou'd have depriv'd us of so invaluable a Blessing; and to oppose them on all Occasions, where the Interests of Your Royal House, and those of our Country, which are inseparable, were concern'd.

It was this, SIR, that disarm'd the late Powers of their Terrors, and gave me Spirit amidst a Thousand Threats to expose the Artifices of the Friends to France and the Pretender, and to set a light Value on my own Safety and Advantage, when those of the Public were at Stake, and the kind Reception these Volumes then met with from all good Britains, was not one of the least Proofs of their inviolable Attachment to the present Establishment.

*This Attachment, affected only by others whose Duty it was to have guarded the Succession from all Insults, let its Ill-willers see, 'twas in vain for them to put on a Face of Duty and Affection to it; that nothing wou'd satisfy the British Nation, but the surest Methods for it to take Effect. This baffled
their*

The DEDICATION.

*their Counsels, confounded their Devices,
and prepar'd the Way for his Majesty's peace-
able Possession of the Throne, where long may
He Reign with Tranquility and Glory; and
may Your Royal Highness, and Your Royal
Posterity after Him, possess it to the end of
Ages. I am,*

May it please Your Royal HIGHNESS,

Your Royal HIGHNESS's,

Most Humble, most Dutiful,

and most Devoted Servant,

PREFACE.

I AM not now to make an Apology for a Work which has past so many Impressions, and I might have continu'd it down to the present Times, had not an end been put to my Design, by his Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne.

All I had in View, was to expose the Enemies to the Revolution, and the Protestant Succession, in their true Colours, to strip them of their Pretences to a Zeal for the Church and Monarchy, and let the Publick see, that from the Time that they had the Denomination of Tories given them, they have not fail'd of pursuing their first Scheme, of destroying the Constitution, and subjecting us to a French Religion and Government.

These vain Pretences of theirs, as ridiculous and absurd as they are, have more than once impos'd them on the Multitude, for a godly, loyal Party, tho' they are the most mutinous and immoral Part of the Nation, whose Loyalty is without Principle, and their Religion without Virtue.

The Infamous Peace they made with France, was sufficient warning to us, that they meant by it to restore the Protector of their Pretender, to that Empire which he had lost by a victorious War under the Conduct of the Duke of MARLBOROUGH, who had almost reduc'd him to a State of Impotence. Had that War lasted a Campaign longer,
he

P R E F A C E.

he and his Friends must have abandon'd their Mission at Barleduc to his genuine Condition; and that was a Thought more terrible to his Faction in Britain, than even the Ruin of their dear Country.

In this Volume will be shewn what Means, some of 'em very bloody ones, the Jacobites and their Abettors wou'd have made use of to bring Things into Confusion among us, that they might save the French from the Destruction which threatned them in both Wars. For tho' the Confederates were not so successful in the First as in the Second, yet every Blow that was given the French, was felt by their Friends in England, and they have been contriving ever since the Revolution, how to puzzle and distract Matters at home, that our Affairs may go ill abroad, in hopes to make as good a Diversion by their Plots to the Arms of the Allies, as the French did by their Power.

All their wicked Devices are now brought to naught. We have a KING on the Throne, whose Virtue and Wisdom secure us from any such future Contrivances. And his Enemies have nothing to look for, if they remain impenitent, but the Punishment that is due to such obstinate and incorrigible Traytors.

There remains no Care for us, his Majesty's faithful Subjects; but to study how by our Loyalty and Affection to his sacred Person and Government, to deserve in some measure the Care of our Security which he has taken on himself; and in our several Stations to use our utmost Endeavours to make his Reign as Easie to himself as it is Happy to us.

THE



THE
Secret History
OF
EUROPE, &c.

PART IV.



HAD prepar'd a great part of the following Memoirs of the Reign of King *William* the Third, of Glorious Memory, and of the Affairs of *Europe*, such as are not to be met with in the General Histories of those Times, when I publish'd the Third Volume; but intending a Fourth, I did not think it proper

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per to make the Third unfizeable with the other, and therefore kept those Memoirs for this Opportunity.

I have since had the good Fortune to improve them by the Information of several Gentlemen very Curious in such useful Enquiries, of good Intelligence and Veracity; and I am very Ambitious of giving Credit to my History by naming them, but since I know it will offend their Modesty, I shall content my self to leave the Facts they inform'd me of to the support of their own Authority, and the genuine Truth that every where appears in them.

This Volume will bring down the Memoirs of the late Times so near to all our Memories, that it will be impertinent to trouble the World with the recent Events that come after. They are in every ones Collections of Histories, Pamphlets, and other Papers, or live still in common Tradition, and are by no means worthy the Title of *Anecdotes*. As they grow older they will be more forgotten, and there may some more able Historian undertake to collect them.

I shall close my *Secret History* with this Volume, and the rather, for that the Fury of Faction is such, 'tis equally dangerous and indiscreet to speak of certain Persons while they are living, while what is true is so much against them, and they are so little dispos'd to hear it. There will, no doubt, be sufficient Care taken to have their Glorious Actions transmitted in their full Light to Posterity: And if such Men
do

do not place all their Happiness in this Life ; if they have that Concern for Fame and Glory, which was ever the Parent of all great and good Actions, the very Thought of the Severity and Fidelity of History must make them, of all Men, the most miserable.

The first Event treated of in the following Pages, will be the bloody Conspiracy carry'd on by the *Nonjurors* and *Jacobites*, to murder our late Sovereign King *William*. I shall avoid entering into the *detail* of it, or mentioning such Particulars as are to be met with in all our Histories, and touch only on those Passages that serve to shew the Honesty of those good Men, who, for Conscience sake, would destroy our *Religion* and *Liberties* ; and at the same time they are preaching up the Divine Right of Princes, and their being accountable to God alone, are for sending them by the most cruel and wicked Means to that great Tribunal, where it is most certain all Princes must account to a God that will not be mock'd, and where Reasons of State, Dignity, and Prerogative cannot be pleaded against Justice, Equity, and Reason ; where the Heart will be laid open, and all Promises that were made with the Lips will be found as binding as those that were the Fruits of Ambition and Interest.

In enquiring into the damnable Conspiracy to assassinate King *William*, and bring in King *James* and a *French* Army in the Year 1695. I shall go back to the first discovery of it, which was in the Year 1694.

It was said to be made by Captain *Matthew Smith*, who was once of the *Inner Temple*, Comptroller of that Society, and afterwards Captain of an Independant Company at *Windsor*, where he commanded it when the Prince of *Orange* came thither in his March to *London*. He was after that a Captain in the Duke of *Norfolk's* Regiment, but was dismiss'd the Service, on suspicion of being in King *James's* Interest; and that ill usage made the *Jacobites* look upon him as a Person ready, out of Revenge, to engage in any Enterprize against the Government. By this means, it might be imagin'd, he had frequent Opportunities to inform himself of their Designs, particularly of the Grand One, to murder his Majesty, of which he pretends he gave the earliest Information; but there was something wanting in the Character of the Man, to render his Informations of sufficient Authority with a wise and experienced Minister.

Mr. *Smith* was Nephew to Sir *William Parkyns*, and in great Credit with the Party, from whom, and especially from his Unkle, he had always an account of King *James's* Intentions. On the 2d of *December*, 1694. He inform'd a Person of Quality, that the late King intended to invade *England*, the Spring after the Battle of *Landen*, but that the Conspirators could not agree among themselves, occasion'd by his last Declaration of the 17th of *April* 1693. In which it was thought proper to flatter the Church of *England*, as he had done at his Accession to the Throne, with a new Promise, that he

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he would maintain her in all her Rights, by which the Papists must have been excluded from Commands and Offices; and this so disgusted them, that they would not at that time stir, leaving it to those who call'd themselves Protestants, to betray their Country to the *French*. In this Declaration he endeavour'd to amuse the Faction with vain Hopes, that *he desir'd rather to be beholden to his Subjects Love, than to any other Expedient; that he would not make use of a French Power.* He declar'd also, *that he would protect and defend the Church of England, as it is now by Law Establish'd; that he would not dispence with or violate the Test;* by which means the Papists could have had no Commissions, and without them they could not take Arms. This Paper was thought by some to be contriv'd, written, and printed in *London*, without King *James's* Direction; but by *Smith's* Information, it should be the genuine Product of *St. Germain's*, the *Papish* and *Tory Jacobites* falling out about it, which 'tis probable they would not have done, had it been only a Trick to make Profelites among Protestants.

It was obtain'd, as he says, by a Party in *England*, call'd *Compounders*, who promis'd, that if such a healing Declaration was granted, they would soon restore the Abdicated King, who was very averse to the signing it: It being more suitable to his Bigottry and Temper to come in with a high Hand by the Assistance of a *French* Fleet and Army, to have made an entire Conquest of Us, our Religion and Liberties,

and no more to have been restrain'd by the Fears of a Parliament. The *Declaration* was drawn up in *England*, and carry'd over by the Lord *Middleton*, who assur'd King *James*, that upon his laying aside the Earl of *Melfort*, and his consenting to this *Declaration*, the *Compounders* would perform their Promise. This Faction had, it seems, an understanding with one of the *French King's* Secretaries, an Enemy to the Lord *Melfort* and his Measures. This Secretary prevail'd upon the *French King* to perswade King *James* to sign it, which he did, much against his Inclination: Because it speaks so much the Spirit of the Party, and shews how easily they always were to be deluded by the *French King's*, and King *James's* Promises, on which they depended as much, as if it had been impossible for those two Kings to have broken their Words, I shall give the Reader the whole *Declaration*, it not being long, and containing many Things worthy of his Curiosity.

His Majesty's most Gracious *Declaration* to
all his Loving Subjects.

JAMES R.

WHEREAS We are most sensible that nothing has contributed so much to Our Misfortunes, and Our People's Miseries, as the false and malicious Calumnies of Our Enemies: Therefore We have always been, and still are willing to condescend to such Things, as after mature Deliberation, We have thought
most

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most proper for removing thereof, and most likely to give the full Satisfaction and clearest Prospect of the greatest Security to all Ranks and Degrees of Our People: And because We desire rather to be beholden to Our Subjects Love to Us, than to any other Expedient whatever for Our Restoration, We have thought fit to let 'em know before hand Our Royal and Sincere Intentions; and that whenever Our People's united Desires, and Our Circumstances give Us the Opportunity to come and assert Our Rights, We will come with the Declaration that follows.

JAMES R.

JAMES R.

‘ **W**HEN We reflect upon the Calamities of Our Kingdoms, We are not willing to leave any Thing unattempted, whereby We may reconcile Our Subjects to their Duty: And though We cannot enter into all the Particulars of Grace and Goodness which We shall be willing to grant; yet We do hereby assure all Our loving Subjects, that they may depend upon every Thing that their own Representatives shall offer, to make Our Kingdoms happy: For We have set before Our Eyes, as Our noblest Aim, to do yet more for their Constitution, than the most renown'd of Our Ancestors; and, as Our chiefest Interest, to leave no Umbrage for Jealousies in relation to Religion, Liberty and Property.

‘ And to encourage all Our loving Subjects, of what Degree or Quality soever, to set their Hearts and Hands to the per-

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‘fecting so good a Work, and to unite
‘themselves in this only means of establishing
‘the future Peace and Prosperity of
‘these Kingdoms, We have thought fit to
‘publish and declare, That on Our part,
‘We are ready and willing wholly to lay
‘aside all Thoughts of Animosity or Re-
‘sentment for what is past ; desiring no-
‘thing more, than that it should be buried
‘in perpetual Oblivion.

‘And do therefore by this our Declara-
‘tion, under our Great Seal, solemnly pro-
‘mise our free Pardon and Indemnity to
‘all our loving Subjects, of what De-
‘gree or Quality soever, who shall not
‘by Land or Sea oppose Us, and those
‘We shall think necessary to accompany
‘Our Person in this just Attempt to re-
‘cover our Right, or (in such a number of
‘Days after Our landing, as We shall here-
‘after express) shall not resist those who
‘in any part of Our Dominions shall, ac-
‘cording to their Duty, assist and maintain
‘the Justice of Our Cause. Beseeching
‘God to incline the Hearts of Our People,
‘that all Effusion of Blood may be prevent-
‘ed, and Righteousness and Mercy take
‘Place. And for that End, We further
‘promise to all such as shall come to assist
‘Us, that We will reward them accord-
‘ing to their respective Degrees and
‘Merits.

‘We do further declare, That we will
‘with all speed call together the Represen-
‘tative Body of Our Kingdom ; and there-
‘in will inform Ourselves what are the
united

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‘ united Interests and Inclinations of Our
‘ People; and with their Concurrence will
‘ be ready to redress all their Grievances,
‘ and give all those Securities, of which
‘ they shall stand in need.

‘ We likewise declare, upon our Royal
‘ Word, That We will protect and defend
‘ the Church of *England*, as it is now Estab-
‘ lish’d by Law; and secure to the Mem-
‘ bers of it all the Churches, Universities,
‘ Colleges, and Schools, together with
‘ their Immunities, Rights, and Privi-
‘ ledges.

‘ We also declare We will, with all Ear-
‘ nestness, recommend to that Parliament
‘ such an impartial Liberty of Conscience,
‘ as they shall think necessary for the Hap-
‘ piness of these Nations.

‘ We further declare, We will not dis-
‘ pense with or violate the Test. And as
‘ for the Dispensing Power in other Mat-
‘ ters, We will leave it to be explained
‘ and limited by that Parliament.

‘ We declare also, That We will give Our
‘ Royal Assent to all such Bills as are ne-
‘ cessary to secure the frequent calling and
‘ holding of Parliaments; the free Electi-
‘ ons, and fair Returns of Members; and
‘ provide for impartial Tryals; and that
‘ We will ratify and confirm all such Laws
‘ made under the present Usurpation, as
‘ shall be tender’d to Us by that Parlia-
‘ ment.

‘ And in that Parliament We will also
‘ consent to every Thing they shall think
‘ necessary, to re-establish the Act of
‘ Settle-

‘ Settlement in *Ireland*, made in the Reign
‘ of our dearest Brother; and will Advise
‘ with them, how to recompence such of
‘ that Nation as have follow’d Us to the
‘ last, and who yet may suffer by the said
‘ Re-establishment, according to the De-
‘ gree of their Sufferings thereby; yet so
‘ as the said Act of Settlement may always
‘ remain entire.

‘ And if Chimney-money, or any other
‘ part of the Revenue of the Crown, has
‘ been burthensom to Our Subjects, We shall
‘ be ready to exchange it for any other As-
‘ sessment that shall be thought more easy.

‘ Thus We have sincerely declar’d Our
‘ Royal Intentions, in Terms We think
‘ necessary, for settling Our Subjects Minds;
‘ and according to the Advice and Intima-
‘ tions We have receiv’d from great Num-
‘ bers of Our loving Subjects of all Ranks
‘ and Degrees, who have adjusted the man-
‘ ner of Our coming to regain Our Right,
‘ and to relieve Our People from Oppres-
‘ sion and Slavery.

‘ After this, We suppose it will not be
‘ necessary to enumerate the Tyrannical
‘ Violations and Burthens with which Our
‘ Kingdoms have been Oppressed, and are
‘ now like to be destroy’d.

‘ And whereas Our Enemies endeavour
‘ to affright Our Subjects with the Appre-
‘ hensions of great Sums which must be re-
‘ paid to *France*; We positively assure them,
‘ That Our dearest Brother, the most Chri-
‘ stian King, expects no other Compensation
‘ for what he has done for Us, than meerly the
the

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‘ the Glory of having succour’d an injur’d
‘ Prince.

‘ We only add, That We come to vindicate Our Own Right, and to establish the
‘ Liberties of Our People; and may God
‘ give Us Success in the prosecution of the
‘ one, as We sincerely intend the Confirmation of the other.

JAMES R.

*Given at St. Germain-en-Laye, April
the 17th, N. S. and in the Ninth
Year of Our Reign.*

GOD Save the KING.

This is the famous Declaration which the *Tory Jacobites* got to the Disgust of their *Popish* Friends, and which hinder’d their joyning in a *French* Invasion the same Year that King *William’s* Army was defeated in *Flanders*, as has been before hinted. What dependance those silly Creatures could have reasonably made on thele their Master’s Promises, one may imagine by his Conduct to them in the Affairs of the *Ecclesiastical Commission*, the *Universities* and the *Dispensing Toleration*; and what a Figure would they have made when King *James* had been surrounded with *French* and *Irish Papists*? But they never were at the trouble of thinking; and provided they could satisfy a present Passion, and get uppermost for a Month or two to satiate their Revenge on those that kept them out of Power, they did not care what became of themselves or
their

their Country; and their Successors are much of their Mind.

These *Compounders* made several Terms with King *James*, and some of them Condition'd, That they should be *Trustees of the Nation*, so they stil'd themselves, for his Performance of what they promis'd in his *Declaration*. The Party who oppos'd them, and were for his coming back with Sword in Hand, consisted of *Papists*, and such *Jacobites* as *Lesley*, *Hicks*, *Ferguson*, *Parkyns*, &c. These were call'd *Melfortians*, having for their Head at the Court of *St. Germain's* that Lord, as the *Compounders* had the Earl of *Middleton*.

The *Papists* resenting the Moderation of the King's Declaration, and refusing to join the *Compounders*, the latter could not do what they said they would, to restore the late King by the Time appointed, and that Prince was glad he had an Opportunity to declare himself discharg'd from his Promises; upon which he fell in with the *Melfortians*, tho' to blind the *Jacobite Tories* in *England*, the Earl of *Middleton* was in all outward Appearance his first Minister and Favourite. He gave the *Popish* Faction in *England* great Hopes that he would come with a *French* Army about *April 1694*. But the *Compounders* having Notice of his Intentions, and not being ready to receive him, they acquainted the *French* King, that such an Enterprize would be to no purpose at that Juncture; for that the *English* Fleet of Fifty eight Men of War would be fitted out in a Fortnights time. So that Design was laid

laid by, and the Faction kept in Heart with an Assurance, that next Year, 1695, their King should come with a Powerful Army of *French-men*. To flatter the *Compounders*, the Earl of *Melfort* was in such seeming Disgrace, that he resolv'd to leave the Court of *St. Germain's*; where, however, his Interest was so great, that when he went, all the Followers of that Court complimented him, and waited on him to his Coach, except my Lord *Griffin* and Mr. *David Lloyd*, who were great *Compounders*. The Declaration we have been speaking of, was said to be drawn up in *England* by one of 'em, Sir *James Montgomery*, whom the Faction help'd to make his Escape, he being a Timorous Man, and they were afraid he would squeak, as they term'd it.

Of these *Compounders*, were those double Fac'd Gentlemen, of the same Faction, that took the Oaths to King *William*, on purpose to betray him. Instances of their Intelligence with the *French* have been given in the other Parts of this History, and never was there a greater One, than the unhappy Expedition to *Brest*, where the Brave *Talmash* fell, in the Year 1694. when the Faction had Hopes of King *James's* invading us with a powerful Army of *French-men*. It is certain, General *Talmash* himself believ'd he was betray'd: His last Words were very remarkable, and prove beyond all Question the Correspondence the *French* had with the Lords, even of King *William's* Council, who had the Administration of the Government during his Majesty's Absence

Absence. *I dye Contented*, said that General, *having done my Duty in the Service of a good Prince, but I am sorry the Government is betray'd.* He knew who were the Traytors, and nam'd them to a Person who stood at his Bed-side, that he might discover them to Queen *Mary*, and her Majesty be on her Guard against those pernicious Counsellors, who had retarded the Descent, and by that means given *France* Time so to fortify *Brest*, as to render all Approaches to it impracticable. One may easily find out who those evil Counsellors were, and from the success of their Counsels we may conclude, that the Court of *France* inclin'd to enter upon new Projects for re-establishing King *James* on the Throne.

'Tis strange, that notwithstanding the whole Nation was apprehensive that there were Traytors in King *William's* Council, Friends and Pensioners of *France*, at the same time that they had nothing in their Mouths but the Church, and the Interest of their Country; yet they kept their Footing there, and no Clamour could prevail against their pretended Zeal. That there was Ground enough for this Clamour, the Conspiracy which was detected not long after makes evident; nor did a learned Judge refrain from speaking of it openly on the Bench in *Westminster-Hall*. There is one piece of Policy of the French King, says he, in which he outdoes all other Princes whatsoever, and that is, the great Thing of maintaining and managing Intelligence. He can tell when your Merchant-ships set out, and
by

by what time they shall return. He knows when our Royal Navy is to be divided, and when united; Shall I guess how he comes to have such Intelligence? That were well worth the Hearing. I would but guess at it, and in my Guesses forbear saying any Thing that is dishonourable among our selves. If there be any Miscarriages, any ill Intelligencers, any Inbred Traytors, the Parliament will, we hope, take Care about them. What follows, shews of what Stamp these Traytors to their King and Country were. It is not lightly and groundless to be suspected, continues that Reverend Magistrate, that those who be in the Bosom of Princes should betray them; but yet I will tell you, that no Prince has reason to be secure in that Point; the Royal Psalmist complains of his Familiar Friend, he that eat of his Bread, he had dealt treacherously with him. But he describes him further than that, We took sweet Counsel together. So that it should seem he was a Privy Counsellor, as well as a Familiar Friend: Nay, yet further, We went to the House of God together; so that he was of David's Religion, he was one that joynd in the same Worship with him, he was no Dissenter; nay, he was one that profess'd great Love to the House of God, possibly he might be a great Champion for the Church, and the Head of the Party. This was said but a few Months before the Disaster of Camaret Bay, where General Talmarsh was mortally wounded, and that was follow'd by the Conspiracy, which if Providence had not disappointed, would have enslav'd us to France for ever. If Complaints were
made

made of these Traytors, those who made them were treated as *Visionaries*. It was a Jest to name a Plot, till the Discovery of *Charnock's* frightened the Three Kingdoms.

HER Majesty Queen *Mary*, of Blessed and Glorious Memory, departing this Life in *December 1694*. The Party did their utmost to throw Things into Confusion, hoping by that means to effect what they had been long endeavouring. They started a Question, Whether the Parliament was not dissolv'd by the Death of her Majesty? This was not only banded about in Coffee Houses and Publick Companies, but crept also into the Parliament. The Design was obvious, if they could have carry'd the Question, King *William* was no longer King, and they knew very well, all who were against that King, would be against her Majesty Queen *Anne* for the same Reason, because her Title was founded on the Revolution, and then King *James* would have come of course. Yet some of them pretended a great Concern for the Injustice done her Royal Highness, the Princess of *Denmark* in admitting King *William* to reign before her. The Fallacy of which was easy to be seen through; for if that Princess had any Right during her Father's Life-time, 'twas that which the Act of Settlement gave her, and King

William

William being to reign after his *Queen* by virtue of that Act. If it had any Force, his so reigning was no Injustice to her late Majesty: If it had none, no Body was injur'd but King *James* and his pretended Son. The Faction were mightily pleas'd with this Scent, hoping under the Pretence of the *Divine Hereditary Right, and Succession*; they should divide the Friends to the Government, and some of them being for the King, some for the Princess, they might form a third Party against 'em both in favour of King *James*, strong enough to restore him to his Dominions. This Conspiracy to dissolve the Parliament, and consequently the Revolution, suspended that of the Murder and Invasion, which follow'd it, and all their Heads were at work to bring it about.

How busy were they in filling the Town and Country with Treasonable and Seditious Pamphlets, and endeavouring to throw the Scandal of Fanaticism and Republican Principles on all King *William's* Friends, to engage the Church Party to their Interest? How did they bounce of their Numbers? They were not the *Nine in Ten*, but they were the *Four in Five*, as one of their most furious and florid Writers assures us, Page 21.

Now does any Thing better demonstrate, says he, how impudently as well as wickedly we Abdicated our King, than that four Parts in five of the Kingdom would be glad to have him here again upon the Terms he offer'd before

we drove him away, and very many would think themselves happy, and account it a good Bargain to have him here upon any. How little does the King's employing a few Catholicks weigh or amount to?

As this Infamous Libel is in few Hands, and shews the true Spirit and Designs of the Faction, it will not be useless to take Notice of several Facts and Reflections contain'd in it; the Facts being entirely a part of *Secret History*, and the Reflections such, as if they had not been secret, would have sent the Author to the Gallows. They have since that been more Daring, and seem'd to defy those Laws which this Traytor represents as so many *Nullities*, pag. 24.

The present Assembly at Westminster 1694. to use his own detestable Words, which passeth under that Name, met and have sat upon the Writs of an Usurper, who has no more legal Power to call and summon a Parliament, than a Jack Cade, or Perkin Warbeck have, so that Company, stil'd a Convention, came together upon the Invitation of a Person, who, at that time, even upon their own Principles, had not a Shadow, or Umbrage, of Right for calling them, but what a Massinello, or fortunate Robber, may at any time claim.

Whether this Wretch was a Papist, or one of those Churchmen who have distinguish'd themselves of late by the Epithet *Staunch*, I shall not trouble my self to examine, there is so little difference between them,

them, that 'tis not worth separating them. The true *Churchman* is treated by them both as a *Schismatick*; they have both a like Affection for *France* and the *Pretender*, and a like inveterate Hatred to the *Revolution* and the *Protestant Succession*. They both indeed pretend to be the only true *Churchmen*, the only true *Loyal Subjects*, though there is no Crime, no Villany, which they are not capable of to carry on their impious and accurs'd Contrivances, witness their horrid Assassination and Invasion Plots, to murder our King, and betray us to *France*: That their Pretences to Religion and Loyalty are a stale Trick they have play'd so often over, that 'tis strange we should ever be cheated by it, we shall see by this Treasonable Libel, which is so labour'd, and has such an Affectation of Law and Learning, that I doubt not it came from one of their topping Pens. Pag. 13.

It is hop'd, says he, the old Loyalty of the Church of England Party will rouse itself out of the Lethargy into which they have been thrown by their Enemies, conceal'd and cover'd under the Name of Friends, and that upon the Revival and Restauration of their former Measure of Sincerity, they will not only obviate and defeat the Designs of Republicans, but make them feel their Resentment, for having withdrawn, misled and perverted them from their ancient Principles: And how artfully zealous and industrious soever your Trenchards, Somers, Riches, Clarks, and your Common-wealths Men are, who being so well known I

need not name them, for extirpating of Monarchy, yet, &c.

Thus it was that these *Miscreants* endeavour'd to render the most able and most faithful Ministers and Servants of King *William* odious; sometimes they are *Republicans*, and for setting up a *Commonwealth*, sometimes they are errant *Courtiers*, and for erecting a *Despotick* Government; sometimes they are *Presbyterians*, at others *Atheists*, according as the Malice of their Enemies is directed, to *Whigs* or *Tories*: For they have written to both sides, have done their utmost to caress and deceive both, and if they could obtain their Ends, wou'd, on the Ruins of both, build a new Party, Friends to the *Pretender* and *France*, who would at once strike the Names of all other Parties, even out of Remembrance. I do not believe any lover of King *William*, and his Country, will be offended at seeing his Name among those, whom on that Account only, a Traiterous Libeller has endeavour'd to villify. I should my self be proud to appear among them, to own their Principles, and I honour them for their asserting them on all Occasions with so much Courage, and justifying them by their Practices. Let us see therefore who are the Men the Faction have been always railing against, we shall find their Language to be the same ever since their King was abdicated; and let us set a Mark on them, whenever we catch them using it, that they may

may not impose themselves upon us for any thing but *Traytors* to their Country. He tells us in another Place, pag. 12.

Our unthinking soft headed Church of England Monarchical Men have suffer'd themselves to be wheedled by the Republican Whigs into a Conspiracy and Co-operation with them for the destruction of the Regal Government. Again, pag. 16. They would establish and confirm the Usurper's Conquest over the Kingdom, and to make us as much his Vassals as the Loyds and Burnets have endeavour'd to render us.

The Fathers of our Church have for these Twenty Years been sure to have the keenest Edge of their Spight set against them, purely for their Resolution and Zeal in the Defence of it.

It pleases me to find that there are *Britons*, if one may do them the Honour to give them so noble a Name in common with those that so lately beat the Armies of *France* out of all Parts of *Europe*, into her own ancient Limits, I say there are *Britons* so true to themselves, that in so many Years they are the same Men, and have not vary'd in the least from their first Principles and Practices, to subvert the Constitution in Church and State. Their Stile is still the same, and though sometimes they are pleas'd to assume new Denominations, yet one may easily discover by their Satyr and Panegyrick, by the Persons they love and hate, what it is they drive at, and who it is they would set over us. Both of these Reverend Bi-

shops are of the number of the Prelates who receiv'd Consecration in the most Orthodox and Apostolical manner. The Bishop of *Worcester* has been a Pillar and Ornament of our Church these Thirty years. The Bishop of *Salisbury* receiv'd his Consecration by a particular Commission from that Primitive Bishop Dr. *Sancroft*. Now if King *William* had no Right to call the Convention, he had no Right to issue out a *Conge d' Elire* to the Chapter of *Sarum*; and how comes it that good Bishop should consecrate another who had invaded the Church, as much as King *William* had invaded the Kingdom. 'Twas on account of this Apostolical Consecration, that honest Mr. *Dodwel*, who would never submit to the King, submitted to the Bishop he had made by virtue of that very Authority which he would not own, and living in his Diocess, the holy Man deny'd his Children the Blessing of Confirmation, till they could receive it from the Hand of his Diocesan, there being in his sound Judgment. no Virtue in any Foreign Confirmation. He wrote to his Lordship on that Subject, and was so earnest as to desire him to take a Journey on purpose, the Children being qualify'd, and himself in haste; yet this good, great and learned Prelate, without respect either to his Merit or Character, have the Faction at all times insulted with the utmost Outrage. A Prelate who has given more Honour to his Country than ever he has, or can receive from it: But his Lordship's not being the only Merit to which it has distinguish'd

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its Ingratitude, the ill Treatment he has met with will not be so much wonder'd at by Posterity, if that part of our History should, for their Mortification, be convey'd to them. I desire to be borne with for rambling a little on these occasions, when I keep my main subject in view, and answer the ends of my Design, which by this time the Reader cannot but be appriz'd of.

The Faction was not for dissolving that Parliament, because they were in hopes they should get one to their Minds; they durst not trust their Four in Five any where but in Paper: But they thought if by this Sophistry they could any how invalidate King *William's* Title, Things would of Course go back into their own Channel; Affairs would soon fall into Confusion, and *France* making her Advantage of it, an opportunity offer itself to put the Design they had form'd in execution. This was all they meant by their Arguments about the Dissolution of the Parliament: They made a greater Clamour about it than the Lords did, who argu'd for the Dissolution of the last long Parliament in King *Charles II's* Reign, from a Prorogation of fifteen Months, for which they were sent to the Tower; and had those who propos'd the Question in the House of Lords on the Death of Queen *Mary*, been serv'd after the same Rate, I cannot see wherein they would have had any Wrong done them. Their Libeller informs us, pag. 57.

That the Earl of ——— started a Question in the House of Lords, Whether, since the Demise of Queen Mary, this was a Parliament or not? The E. of P ——— reply'd, It was not a Question to be mention'd, and less to be debated.

The noble Lord that started it whose Name he does not conceal, having since atton'd by a hearty Zeal for the Good of his Country, shall never be mention'd by me on so bad an occasion; for where there are such convincing Proofs of Repentance, it would be Cruelty to reproach any one with their past Conduct, their Fall, like some of our Martyrs, making their Virtue shine the more bright in their Penitence. It was not only in the Lords House that this dangerous Experiment was made, if there is Truth in this Writer's History, when there is none in his Argument, there was a considerable Party made for it in the House of Commons, where every Member sat by the Authority of the Revolution, and had sworn to be true to that Authority. But what signify Oaths of Allegiance, what are Oaths of Abjuration? How many Thousands of the Faction have swallow'd them, that treat of them, and speak of them with the utmost Contempt, acting and preaching against the Tenour of them, and, forsworn as they are, look on themselves, and are look'd upon by their Party, as the only Men of Honour in the Kingdom? Their Author speaking of the Parliament
sitting

sitting after the Demise of Queen Mary, says, pag. 151.

There are a great many as worthy and deserving Gentlemen within those Walls, as any in the Kingdom are, who continue to sit there not from a Belief that this is a Parliament, but that they may prevent your Whartons, Montagues, Smiths, &c. from ruining the Nation. Those honourable and worthy Gentlemen, whose Names I am oblig'd to conceal, have sufficiently atton'd for their Fault in sitting and acting since the Death of the late Princess.

I doubt not the Names of them are to be met some where or other, and that a good many of them will be found in a List I shall present the Reader with before I part with him, which tho a little obscure of it self, may be made plain by a small degree of Penetration.

Besides, their Plots for *Murder* and *Descents*, the main Service of the Faction to King James and the French, was the clogging the Wheels of King William's Government, their Artifices to obstruct Funds, both in settling and levying them; their crying out against the War, against Taxes and Losses at Sea, the unavoidable Effects of it. By these means they made the Money Bills come so slowly, that the French Armies were in the Field, and Towns taken before the Funds were settled in England, and the King could leave the Parliament. They then magnify'd the Successes of the French; the Glory of that Mo-

Monarch, and aggravated the Misfortunes of the Allies, to discourage their Friends, and give Spirit to their Enemies. Their Plot to break up the Parliament, in which so *many Men of Worth and Honour were engag'd*, if you'll Credit my Author, was only, as has been said, with a View to puzzle Matters, and obstruct the Taxes for the War. He frankly owns it, and that those Gentlemen made their Attainment that way.

It seems there was a Project then in the House to ease the Nation of the great Interest they paid for the publick Money, by an Excise Bill, which would have done it effectually, have brought in Money quick, and have prevented a vast Debt by Deficiencies contriv'd on purpose to weary us out by a continual Burthen. The Faction rail'd mightily at this Project, though afterwards they extoll'd it to the Skies. If Money was borrow'd at Interest, *the Debts*, said they, *would beggar us*; if, to prevent a Debt, an Excise was talk'd of, *'twas the direct way to enslave us*. In short, to raise Money at all, was the way to carry on the War, that the way to keep out King James, and Men of Honour and Worth could not attone with the *Jacobites* better, than by swearing and forswearing to prevent it. The naked Truth appears in the following Passages of this Zealous Loyer of his Country, pag. 51.

They have merited, says he, the Thanks of the Nation, by opposing and defeating the general

ral Excise, which your Mountagues, Smiths, and many others had projected and resolv'd to impose on the Kingdom. If they could have effected it, as they promis'd the Gentleman at Kensington to do, we should in a little time have been made greater Slaves than the Turks are, and William had been put into a Condition of Ruling as Despotically as the Grand Signior.

Pray mind his Consistency, for the whole Faction partake of it; they are the Republicans that are to do all this. He goes on, pag. *ibid*.

How strangely are English Men degenerated since they got a Dutch King, that there should be so many Advocates for that now, that our Subjection to it could not have been avoided, without much Art, Industry and Courage in a few generous Patriots, which but to have mention'd within those Walls some Reigns ago, would have drawn both a Punishment and Disgrace upon him that did it. For when Sir Dudley Carleton, who was the Secretary of State, did but once name it in that House, tho' with no ill intent, he was not only call'd to the Bar, but hardly escap'd being sent to the Tower.

With these Honourable and Worthy Gentlemen Times and Occasions are all alike, and there was as much Reason against an Excise, when the Enemy was at our Gates, when we were fighting *pro Aris & Focis*, when the French threatned us with their
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Religion and Government, as when an Army was to be levy'd against our Brother Britons the Scots, or the Court Ladies to be paid the Arrears of their Pensions, which they so well deserv'd of the Nation, for giving Pleasure to two Monarchs, to him of *England* by their Amours, to him of *France* by their Politicks.

But such are the Arguments of the Faction: If they can find out a Fact that has one Look or a Reason that but squints towards them, they make up for all that's wanting in Truth, by Glosses, and take it to themselves entirely, though fairly represented, it is quite against them, as Truth will eternally be. A Page or two after he comes still closer to the Point, and speaks as plainly as one could wish, pag. 55.

So the whole Constitution, and all the Laws of England, must be sacrific'd to the Lunatick and Disloyal Bigotry of keeping King James out of his Dominions, and from his ascending his Throne; for that is the whole Paraphrase of the Text, of the Necessity of the Parliaments continuing to sit in order to raise Money for carrying on a vigorous War against France; but it being dissolv'd by the Death of the late Princess, before any Bills had pass'd for the granting any Money, it will argue great Sottishness, as well as Tameness in the People of England, if this Government be not disappointed of that End of their keeping it on Foot.

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This Libel is the same *Smith* mentions in his Narrative, and was Preparatory to the *Insurrection* which was to meet the *Invasion*. The Libeller beats the Drum and sounds the Trumpet in every Page: He sometimes cajoles the two Houses of Parliament, sometimes bullies them, and always treats the People of *England* as a poor deluded Company of Sots, blind Men, whose Eyes wanted a Salve to open them, a Work reserv'd for a Priest of this Author's size for Honesty, though far inferior to him for Learning and Understanding: But, Thanks be to Heaven, all good *Britons* had an Abhorrence for the wicked Attempts of the Faction. Where were there *Nine* in *Ten*, where their *Four* in *Five*, when immediately after the discovery of these Conspiracies, the People address'd King *William*, not by Press'd Men and Papers, acquir'd by Art or Violence, but voluntary Subscriptions of the Hands of near Four hundred thousand Men, the best half of the *Britons*, who could defend their Subscriptions with their Swords. The Bounce of these Men is like that of a Bully, who defies under the Cudgel, and is kick'd off the Stage with a Grace. I shall make use of this Treasonable Authors own Words to give an Image of their Strength, which they have so many ways to render formidable.

The Generality of the Faction, as he expresses himself, are Dastardly and Cowardly, though extreamly huffy while they imagine themselves out of Danger of Blows. They are
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in themselves a very diminutive and narrow Party, and only believ'd to be numerous because they are more noisy than their Neighbours; and by that Knowledge I have of them, they will always be found more faithless, treacherous and worse Friends than daring and brave Enemies.

This is so exactly their Character, that I forgive him every thing he has said which is not a Capital Crime, and for which he ought not to be hang'd, for the sake of furnishing me with this faithful Picture of his Faction in little. I do not perceive that it alters as it grows older; 'tis the same now as it was Twenty Years ago, and what may be said of that period, may serve for this.

I tremble at his Treason when I read it, and should never have been able to have gone through with it as much as it makes for my purpose, had not I been us'd to such sort of Reading lately against the Revolution in the *Examiner*, the *Post-Boy* and some Papers of less Distinction; the Sermons of some of the Inferior Clergy, such as S——ch——l, H——g——ns, Milb——n, W——t——n, Tr——p and their Brethren of the Order of *Staunch Men*. I shall, among a Thousand worse Invectives against the King and Parliament, repeat one or two only, and some Facts which he informs us of in vindication of King *James*, with the most tempting Prospect he gives of the Halcyon Days the Protestants of *England* might expect, if they

they would take their Popish King again.
Pag. 55.

Those Papers, says he, which are published under the Stile of Acts, do oblige no Man in Duty to pay, nor can they Authorize any Officer in case of Refusal to distrain. They in St. Stephen's Chappel have no more legal Power to dispose of the Property of the Subjects, than the Committee of Officers have who sit in the Guard House by Whitehall: And all those Acts of Assessment which they have emitted, are but so many Denunciations of War against the People, and proclaiming them obnoxious to Arbitrary Execution upon their Estates Real and Personal; such who are so pusilanimous as to chuse to be robb'd, may submit to it; but as no Warrants can legitimate the doing it, so all Men who have Courage to resist them, have the Authority of all the Laws of England for the doing it. And if they have no Right of sitting as a legal Court, so they cannot be said to take away Mens Goods by any better Name than that of a Company of Banditti.

Twenty or Thirty large Pages more on the same subject I could furnish the Reader with; but as I hate to rake into so much Filth my self, I cannot imagine he will take great delight in it, and there's enough to satisfy any good English Man of the Drift of this Faction in their Politicks as well as in their Plots. What he says in the next Page of his late Majesty, is one of the most tender things these Men of Worth
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and Honour had to say of their Deliverer. Pag. 56.

I will therefore bespeak my Country Men as Boadicia did the Ancient Britons; If they will not resolve, cadere aut vincere, either to perish or vindicate their Liberties, that then viverent & serverent, let them chuse to live and be Slaves. Only let me add, for their Encouragement to assert their Laws and Rights, That the Prince of Orange's Affairs in England do, magis fama quam via Stare, are upheld rather by that Opinion which Men conceiv'd of him before they had an Opportunity to know him, than by any Power, Strength, Interest or new Reputation he has to support himself and them; nay, I will say, that he is sunk into that Contempt, as well as Impotency, that all the Power he hath left, is only to do hurt, but that he hath neither Power nor Authority to do Good or hinder Evil.

One cannot repeat such a parcel of Stuff, without observing the Falshood as well as the Villany of this Memorial of the Faction. King William's Impotency at that time was such, that he the next Campaign was Master of the Field in *Flanders*, and took the strongest Fortrefs in the World, in sight of a *French* Army of 100000 Men; such was his Reputation, that one of the greatest Princes in the World, the *Russian* Emperor, came in Person to do Homage to his Merit; such the Love of his Subjects, that they were impatient of the Clemency by which these Assassins liv'd still to insult

his

his Majesty and asperse his Government. He proceeds, pag. *ibid*.

So that what Tacitus said of Otho is vindicated of William, Othoni nondum auctoritas inerat ad prohibendum scelus, jubere poterat ; That he may encourage and command Mischief, but he is in no Capacity to discountenance and prevent it. The very Mob whom by Factionous Lyes and Falshoods of a few Irish being every where burning Houses and cutting Throats, he decoy'd and enslaved into an insolent and Brutal Rage against their Rightful King, and who became the Ladder unto, and the great Pillars of his Throne, having now understood how they were cheated in that and all Things else, they have not only forsook, but are justly enrag'd against him.

As was visible on all the Occasions they had to shew their Disposition. The Shouts with which they rent the Air when they met him returning from the War ; Their Loyal Acclamations when he put an end to it ; Their Rejoycings on the Days of his Birth, his Descent, his Accession to the Throne, his Coronation ; in a Word, never did the People shew a more sincere and unaffected Love to the Person of their King. The Rabble was not got together by one Factionous Tumultuous Chief ; They were not spirited by a Party to support them ; They were not animated by false Hopes and Fears ; they were not blinded and then led about as their Frantick and Designing Leaders would have them ; they were as hearty as
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they were unanimous and loud, and for this I refer my self to the whole Nation; The *Irish* and the Mob having never had a good Word from the same Faction, till it was become more Rampant than the Mob he is speaking of would suffer them to be at that time.

Nor are they only ready, continues he, Pag. 57. *to do the same towards him that they did towards the King, but they are fully prepar'd to treat him as the Rabble did Vitellius, of whom Tacitus says, Vulgus eadem pravitate insectabitur mortuum, quā foveret viventem, They are as forward to curse and tear him to pieces, as they were formerly to huzza and idolize him; yea, even such as do most flatter him, do it only to deceive and ruin him. Mind how exactly they keep in the same Story still; for they do reckon by what they have robb'd and plunder'd the Nation of under him they shall be able both to purchase their Pardon, and to live plentifully upon a new Revolution,*

As to what he says in the next Place, 'tis of a piece with the rest. Never was the Nation so ready to take hold of all Opportunities to express their Affection for the King's Person and Government. *Titus* was not more the Delight of Mankind, than King *William* was of the *Britons*. Above 70000 Hands were to the Address from one County, that of *Suffolk*, upon the Discovery of the Assassination Plot, which this Libeller was making way for; and he writes of the

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the Addresses to his Majesty, as if he did it rather by a Spirit of Prophecy than by a Lying Spirit.

Nor are most of the Addresses, says he, with which our Gazettes are Weekly stuff'd, to be otherwise accounted of than in the Arts and Tricks of Knaves to banter and deceive Fools; and they do only act that over again to the Prince of Orange, which was long ago practis'd upon Manlius Valens, of whom Tacitus says, Quo incautius deciperetur, palam laudatus; They court him to his Face, that they may the better cut his Throat behind his Back.

The Names of Tyrant, Usurper, Intruder, Robber, and the like, with which he freely treats his Majesty, are so shocking to every one but such abandon'd Wretches, that they are not to be repeated. The French have hardly gone so far in their Enmity and ill Usage of that King: Yet did they pretend a wonderful Concern for her Royal Highness's Interest, a Princess who for many Years bless'd these Nations with a Reign more Glorious to her self, and more happy to her People, than all the Reigns our Annals have recorded, or perhaps shall record. That affected Concern was only to create a Division in the Royal Family, and if possible, engage her Royal Highness not to submit to those Settlements which she submitted to with so much Chearfulness and Resignation, for the Good of the Publick. Since her Majesty's Accession

to the Throne, they have not only dar'd to say as odious Things of her, as of the late King, but actually ship'd off their Pretender in *France* to dethrone their Rightful and Lawful Sovereign, and set her Crown on the Head of an Impostor. We may have Occasion hereafter to remember what wicked Aspersions the Faction cast on the Memory of King *William*, as an Attempt to exclude her Majesty from the Succession, which she was graciously pleas'd, in Honour of our late Sovereign, to cause to be examin'd, and the Falshood and Malice of it to be expos'd in Parliament. That was only the Remains of their old Hatred, which made them so industriously endeavour to raise Jealousies between the Princess and her Royal Brother.

The whole Sovereignty, says the Writer, pag. 43. 44. is by Law devolved upon, and vested in the Princess of Denmark, by the Death of her Sister; and they who are not direct Commonwealths-men, if they will not pay Loyalty and Obedience to King James, who is indeed the only Rightful and Lawful King of these Realms, they ought, if they have any Honour, Justice or Conscience, to yield them to her Royal Highness the Princess Anne.

As her Royal Highness had acquiesc'd from the beginning in the Acts of Settlement, this seeming Zeal for her Interests was as Impertinent as it was Malicious. The share she had in the Revolution would never have been forgiven by them, nor
would

would her immediate Succession to the Crown after the Death of her Sister Queen Mary, have silenc'd their Clamours for the Right of King James, and his pretended Son; but they were for any thing in the World that would confound us, and facilitate the Designs of the French, whom they were serving, and have since serv'd with more Success than is conceiv'd by such as judge only by Appearances.

He represents the Parliament and Ministry of the late Reign as so many Sinks of Corruption.

As honest, just and honourable Things, says he, pag. 5. are then in most Esteem when they are most practis'd, so dishonest and unjust are not thought very ungrateful when they are the Modes of the Court; nor is it unlikely but that Mr. Hungerford might think it a slight and venial Offence to take Twenty Guineas of the Chamber of London, as he was Chairman of the Committee of the Orphans Bill, when the Prince of Orange and his Broker Benting, are said to have received very large Bribes of the East India Company for their Charter, which the House of Commons expected should have been given Gratis.

I have a great mind to enquire into the Briberies of those Times, to see who were the Men that were most Notorious on that Score. Shall I not find a great Duke at the head of them with a Purse of Five thousand Guineas in his Hand, shall I not then meet with a worthy Knight, who had been Speak-

er of King *James's* Parliament, with another of a Thousand? Bribes prov'd upon them beyond Question, whereas the most the Faction can make of their Charge against such as they are pleas'd to call *Whigs* is Hearsay and Report: But their Care of the Publick has been always very officious and quick-sighted, when they have had nothing to do with the Management; when they have, we have seen how they manag'd indeed by the Sponge they presented the Money'd Men of *England* with in the Reign of King *Charles II.* and threatned them with again, by the Mouth of the mad Burgefs of *Colchester* not many Months ago.

He sets out our barbarous Treatment of King *James*, in the most moving Phrases, and insists as much upon our Folly in losing so good a King, as our Injustice in setting aside so Rightful a one. He reduces all his Male Administration to two or three Slips, two or three hasty Acts of his Ministry, which he was himself impatient to have redress'd, and as for the rest, he knew nothing of the Matter, or there never was any such thing; for my worthy Author tells us, pag. 20.

It will never cease to be an Aggravation of the Guilt of our Rebellion, that we fear'd his Majesty's redressing what we had got represented unto, and believ'd by the Nation to have been Illegal, Grievous and Arbitrary; for most Men do now know, that if the Submission which they of Magdalen Colledge sent up to my
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Lord ———, to be laid before the King, had come to his Hands, it would immediately have stop't all Proceedings against them, and have restor'd them fully to his Favour and Grace; but that Submission was conceal'd from his Majesty, not only out of Treachery to him, but out of design to serve the Prince of Orange, in keeping on foot one of the greatest Pretences of his Invasion. And tho' the King gave large and uncontroleable Proofs of having Royal Inclinations beyond what any King ever had that sat upon the Throne of this Kingdom, of retracting and redressing all those Things which he came to be convinc'd of to have been done amiss and illegally; yet that would not allay the Furious and Rebellious Heats of those who had a mind to enrich themselves with the Spoils of the Crown and Kingdom. And therefore when all Things were restor'd to the State and Condition which his most peevish Enemies would have wish'd or desir'd to have had them, yet the Traiterous Ferment was kept up still in the former Height, &c.

You will see in the second Part of this History, how the Submission of *Magdalen College* was conceal'd from the King, when he gave them Audience in Person at *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*; how all Things were restor'd, when a Commission to restore the Fellows of that College was superceded upon News of the *Dutch Fleet's* being detain'd by the Damage it receiv'd in the Storm; when the Writs issu'd in a fright to summon a Parliament were recall'd. This Writer outdoes *Father Orleans* in his Lyes

and Inventions; and by what he tells us King *James* did for us, which we know to be false, we may reasonably make a Judgment of what he says he would have done for us, if we had taken him again. And every thing said of him in this Case is applicable to his pretended Son, or we should not have been at so much Pains to remember the Person of a Prince whose Misfortunes excite ones Compassion, and had he been a private Man, his Faults should have been forgotten, and bury'd with him in his Grave. He declaims thus sweetly on this so taking a Subject, pag. 27.

While those wilful Crimes in many, and human Frailties in them all have cut out much Work to themselves for Repentance, so they will only serve to furnish the injur'd and good King with a large Occasion, and an ample Theatre of displaying his Grace and Mercy: Nor are there any so heinous Offenders against him, whom he is not Ambitious, as well as ready to forgive, if they will but make themselves so far capable of Pardon, as to desire and accept it. And to have any Despair of his Grace, provided they will repent and return to their Duty, would both more Grieve and Offend him than all they have done in deposing him and driving him from his Kingdoms.

Ah! the difference between the Stile of the Secretary to a King in Exile, and that of a Secretary to a King Restor'd. The poor Creatures in the *West* had but rais'd a few Terrors in *Whitehall*, and they were

were hang'd by hundreds ; there never was so bloody an Execution for so little Mischief done. 'Twas doubtless from the same Compassionate Temper, that *Oats*, *Dangerfield*, and the Reverend Mr. *Johnson*, were more cruelly treated than even the most errant *Hugonot* that ever fell into the Hands of a *Popish* Tormenter. To despair of Grace is more killing to so forgiving a Temper, than the taking away of three Crowns. One should have had a very pleasant Answer, if we had taken this Libeller's Word ; had trusted to the Pardon he would have impos'd upon us, and demanded it on the Security he had given us. Nothing in the World would have been so likely to have sav'd us from a Gibbet, as our Folly and Simplicity. They could not think such harmless things would ever do them any Hurt, and probably might have been contented with our Estates, Religion and Liberties. Life had been then a very valuable Blessing, and it would have been very unkind in us if we had despair'd of it. He proceeds,

Nor doth he question but that most of those who have both refus'd to have him reign over them, and have been ready to Abjure him, will, whensoever they are converted, be not only the most Zealous in Loyalty themselves, but the forwardest to confirm others in their Fealty ; neither will any thing be more pleasing and delightful to the King than to see those love much, to whom much hath been given,

What

What a sweet Agreement there must needs have been between a Protestant Nation, who had driven *their King out of his Kingdoms*, and a Popish Sovereign after he was restor'd to them? What a Harmony would there have been between *Arbitrary Power and Liberty*; between *Catholicism and Heresy*? between *French Garrisons and English Corporations*, What Love after what Hatred? But I believe the Scene he represents us with in the last Page, is likely to be the most true one, that would have been the Punishment, and not the Reward of our Credulity, where he thus threatens the *Holts*, the *Trebys*, and the *Trevors* too, with all the brave and upright Judges plac'd by King *William* and Queen *Mary* on the Benches in *Westminster-Hall*. Pag. 58.

They know what was the Fate of Wayland, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in Edward the First's Time, and of Sharpe, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench in Edward the Third's Time, and of Tressillian, Belknap, and four Judges more in the Time of Richard the Second; it is to be suppos'd that they who fill the Benches now will not be Ambitious of the like Destiny; nor will it be amiss for them to remember the Reign of King Alfred, who caus'd forty four Justices or Judges to be hang'd for corrupt and false Judgments. And being acquainted with Foreign History, both Ancient and Modern, it cannot have
escaped

escaped them in their Readings, with what Beautiful Hangings a certain Emperor caus'd a Court of Judicature to be adorn'd, namely, with the Skins of Corrupt Judges stuf with Straw, and hung over the Bench where they had prevaricated from Justice, Equity and Law.

Such had been the Delight our Restor'd Monarch would have taken in us, and the Pretender having suffer'd more, if it ever should be in his Power to entertain that Passion of his, no doubt his Courts and Country will be as well Beautify'd as was that Sturdy Emperor's, whose Example this Writer gave his Master to imitate. Though by the Phrase, and other Marks, one may with Reason impute this wicked Work to that Arch-Rebell *Robert Ferguson*, yet he throws off the Fanatick in it, and assumes the Character of a *Staunch Man*, to which Faction he wrote; and he of all Mankind, best knew what wou'd please them. When they found this Contrivance would not do, they set their old Machine a moving, and conspir'd the Death of the King. and Conquest of the Kingdom, using all their Arts to render People incredulous, and to make a Jest of Suspicion.

EVERY

EVERY one knows how the *Lancashire* Plot was exploded. The Prosecution of it being imperfect, those Plotters got well off; but no Body doubted they had been plotting, and were provided to have joyn'd King *James*, had he brought over his *French* Army, intended for that Expedition in the *La Hogue* Campaign. 'Tis true the *French* King had been so often deceiv'd by the *Jacobites*, that he did not care to trust them with an Army, and was for their doing the Business themselves. To this end it was that they provided themselves with Arms. *Smith*, who had the Promise of a Regiment from the Faction, would have us believe he learn'd the Persons Names employ'd in buying up of Arms, and that at one Place there were sufficient for a Troop.

The *French* King had had so many Baulks and Misfortunes from the *Jacobite* Faction, that he began to despair of their being able to do him any Service; but the Message sent him by the Earl of *Ailesbury*, the Lord *Montgomery*, (now call'd Duke of *Powis* by those that are fond of the Titles given by King *James* to shew their Adherence to his own Title) &c. which Message *Charnock* carry'd to *France*, gave him fresh Encouragement to assist them. Before that he dealt with 'em as one who understood very well the Constitution of *England*, that while the King and Parliament agreed so well as they did, it would be in vain to attempt any thing against him. 'Tis said, he should say of King *William*, So long as he manag'd and kept well with
his

his Parliament as he did then, there was but little Hopes, and that his Majesty had done more with his Parliament than any of the former Kings could ever do.

Smith in the prosecution of his Discoveries, drew up Interrogatories for the Examination of Captain Scudamore and one Scaples, a living Instance of the Clemency of the Government. One of which was, *Whether they were not daily with Capt. Charnock, alias Robinson, one of Collonel Parker's Captains? And at the Cabals at Taverns with Capt. Porter, Goodman, Charnock, &c.*

Mr. Smith also gave Information where to seize the Arms that were at Marston in Warwickshire, in Sir Wm Parkyn his Unkle's House, of whom he gives this Character: *He is no Papist, but I fear too much engag'd in their Interest. As to his being a Non-juror, I do not know: He doth not go to Church, and refuses to act as a Justice of Peace in his Country, and is under Indictments for not Acting: He was near Twenty Years a Six-Clerk in Chancery, and sold his Place for Six thousand five hundred Pounds. There are many of Quality in his Party, and no Man is in greater favour with the late King, and more like to be greater than himself, if there should be a Change.*

This Discoverer mixing a great many Trifles with his Discoveries, they were neglected, as coming from a Trifler; however whether it was that he thought to make his Market by it, or, as he pretended, that the Horror and Distraction that would attend a Revolution prevailed over him, he went on Corresponding with the Enemies of the Government

vernment, and giving Informations, and in May when Charnock was sent to France to invite King James over in the Name of the Faction,

He said, *The Party are now in great Hopes that there will be a speedy Change of the Scene. That an Attempt will be made to land 'em. And in the December before the Discovery of the Assassination Plot, he gave Information, That the Toulon Fleet would be out and make their Way to Brest, and if the English Fleet was not out by the middle of February, he fear'd they would obtain their Design, wherefore a great regard must be had to the early equipping the Fleet.* He added, King James had put most of his Officers away from him to have them in England, to do him Service here to manage an Army when there is occasion; and the 23d of December, 1695. That the Malecontents had receiv'd Instructions to prepare and be in a readiness, for the Toulon Fleet would make their way to Brest. That New-Years Day, according to the French Account, is the Day intended for their sailing, and, if possible, before the Business of the Cohn be settled. This Affair is yet communicated to a few, and some Commissions are come over. He at the same time said, that he had us'd his Endeavours to be employ'd by the Jacobites at St. Germain, to better his Intelligence, but they answer'd, *His Service would be expected here, and if the Business did not succeed, he should go.* He also boasted he had made Holmes, one of the Conspirators, his Friend, and in a Postscript to one of his Letters writes, *Just now the*
Person

Person that brings over the Letters was with me, confirms the Business of the Descent, and tells me, that the Instructions are communicated but to a Few Persons, and that at the late King's Court it is hardly discours'd of, they being resolv'd to keep the Matter private, until they are ready to put it in Execution, for they that are there can be ready in a short time. The Forces intended for the Invasion are not to march until the Fleet is out at Toulon, and they are to make no stay on the Coast, but immediately to Imbark. He tells me, That he uses to deliver out about forty Letters, and complain'd of some of the Party's unkindness in not gratifying him for his Trouble. He inform'd me, That he carried three Letters to the L—d Arran the last Summer, who gave him three Guineas a time; Sir John Friend, a Citizen, half a Crown a time. But now Capt. H—mbl—t—n delivers the L—d Arran's Letters. There is one Capt. Neale, who is a Person of great Intelligence, and Capt. Charnock has private Instructions about the intended Descent.

Who was this Earl of Arr——n? Was it not the same who was afterwards Duke H——n, and entrusted with the Management of Affairs between France and England? And who was that Capt. H—mbl—t—n? Not he, sure, who Swore so heartily on the Death of that Duke, and liv'd for it afterwards with so much Ease and Reputation?

On the 5th of January Smith writes thus, I once more humbly offer it as my Advice, that a due provision and care be taken, to prevent and undermine the Designs that are now hatch-
ing

ing and blowing up against the Government, &c. As to the Descent, I have good Reasons to believe the Truth of it. 'Tis now again repeated by a positive Command, to have all Things in readiness in order to it. This Affair is communicated but to a few Persons, and carry'd on with the greatest Secrecy, the French King having been so often betray'd, as they term it, and thereby oblig'd to alter his Measures, by reason of the Folly of the Jacobites here. Again, Yesterday I was desired to get a List of the Forces and Colonels Names here; and also it was enquired into, What NUMBER of GUARDS usually attend His Majesty when he goes abroad? The Intention of this I do not yet know, I believe it is of a bad Consequence, therefore 'tis necessary to double the Number, and that quickly too. Mr. Holmes came from Sir William's this Week, by reason of the Express, and their great Expectations from Abroad. There were never in this Reign more Designs against the Government than now. As I have engag'd that nothing can be done of a bad Consequence without my getting a knowledge of it, so nothing shall be wanting, if His Majesty will only support my Expences.

Spies, let them excuse themselves as much as they please from the Infamy of Evidence, will never be able to support the Character of Men of Honour. A Man of Honour may, out of a mistaken Zeal, be carry'd farther than he thought of into a Conspiracy, but he will discover it as soon as he finds out the Horror of it, and be no more concern'd in such Devilish Machinations. He

will

will not continue in Company to betray them: He will give them up immediately to Justice; but not countenance their Treasons by his Presence and Applause, for Hire, or any other Consideration. This a Spy will and must do; and a Spy is as necessary to a Government as a Man of Honour; but then that Spy should be positive and clear in his Informations, to deserve Countenance and Reward. Such Services are or ought to be well paid for, and there will enough be always pretending to the Merit of them for the Pay, on which Accountable Ministers should be Cautious how they put too much Confidence in them.

‘ It is to be observ’d, *says Smith*, that upon writing this Letter, *of the 5th of January*, Mr. *Holmes* and Major *Holmes* had been down at Sir *William Parkyns’s* House. Major *Holmes* went two or three Days after he came from *France*; and upon his return the Affair was enquir’d into which is mention’d in the Letter, *as also the number of the Guards*. It is evident, that one of his Instructions with Sir *George Barclay*, was to kill the King, by their enquiring into the Number, that they might proportion their own suitable to the Enterprize.

He pretended he was to have a Commission under Sir *George Barclay*, and gave a formal Information as follows:

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THE 19th and 20th of January, 1698. a Descent is resolv'd to be made upon England, and will be put in Execution as soon as possible. In order to it, Commissions are come to several here, Forces are moving towards the Coast, and a great quantity of Arms are brought down to Bretagne to be transported thither. I am inform'd that the Forces will be Thirty thousand Men. This Affair is resolv'd on, and several Persons have been treated with in order to it.

There is one Major Holmes come over with particular Instructions about it, as he did about the la Hogue Business, and I understand he is soon to return with an account of the Posture of Affairs here. Sir William Parkyns has a Commission. One of Holmes's Instructions was to procure some Deys, from Rotier in the Tower, to send over to King James to convey some mill'd Money, to pay his Army when he is landed in England.

When this Information was given, Smith was examin'd by Mr Vernon, to whom the Examination of it was refer'd; but it was also in Generals, that no sure Measures could be taken from it. He seem'd now in haste and four Days after declar'd, There never was a greater Blow intended against the Government; adding, What I have next to communicate will be surprizing, and I am sure will merit the greatest Reward. The Reward is rarely omitted in any of his Letters and Informations.

He observes upon what he had heard, How it was resolv'd upon, when this last Express came from France, that Holmes should stay in England. He was seconded by Sir George Barclay in all Things. And it is further evident, that the intended Assassination was by particular Order of the late King, by reason the Number of Guards that attended his Majesty was sent over to him.

The 17th of February he says, *The Storm now coming is so violent, concerted, and sudden too, that it will be a great Work to prevent it.* And

The 10th of February he discover'd, that Sir John Friend had receiv'd a Commission, that Sir William Parkyns had employ'd him to solicit Mr. Cr--v--n, the Earl of Cr--v--n's Heir to be a Lieutenant-Collonel; that Sir W--l--ft--n D---x and Mr. P--r--f--y, &c. had had a meeting with Sir William Parkyns at the Angel Inn in Leicester. That Sir George Barclay was come from France and had daily Consultation with Major Holmes. That they had a Design upon the King and Kensington, to surround the Guards and seize the King's Person. That Fergusson was to be a Privy-Counsellor, and the Earl of Melfort a Principal Manager of these Undertakings.

On the 13th of February Smith was with Mr. Charnock at the White-Horse Tavern in Norfolk-Buildings, where Charnock press'd him to buy a Horse for the Service of Forty Pounds Price.

The same Day there was a great Entertainment at Mr. Braxton's in the Savoy, where

where were Sir *William Parkyns*, Captain *Cripps*, Mr. *Ceely*, Captain *Caryl*, Captain *Lewis*, Captain *Neal*, *Thomas Lea*, the Messenger, Mr. *Holmes* and Captain *Smith*, and 'twas reported that two Days after, the 15th of *February*, the King was to have been kill'd. To which *Smith* objects he could not believe that was the Day generally agreed on, because *Cranborn* was not taken in to be one of the Assassins till some Days after.

The next Day after he writes, *The Toulon Fleet is now out, but the Affair of the greatest Expedition, and not yet communicated but to a few, and they to be Undertakers, is this, To carry off the King, and that quickly too, there will be at least sixty Commission'd Officers to do it. When they have beat the Guards they are to force the King to ride with them, and a Vessel is ready to carry him to France. The Order, as they say, is not to abuse his Person, and when the King is there (for the Vessel will be over in a few Hours) whilst the Nation is in a Consternation for the Person of the King, then the French will appear and bring over the late King. The Persons that are to be chief Actors are to be made Lords. There are daily Prayers made for the Accomplishment of this great Design and Forty Thousand Pounds remitted for this and the Insurrection.*

The Lord *Portland* receiv'd full Informations of the Conspiracy the 17th of *February* from one *Fisher*, and it was so particular that he thought fit to acquaint the King with it. His Majesty did not take Notice

of it, because *Fisher* nam'd neither Time nor Place.

If the King himself did not hearken to the Informations of a Person to whom his Favourite had given Credit, well might his Minister be diffident of a Person, whom he had no Opinion of, and the Insinuations of *Smith*, that he was neglected not on Account of his own Insufficiency, but on Account of his Zeal in this Business, is equally groundless and malicious. His Discovery had some Foundation, but had a Noise been made of it upon his Information, it might rather have given Rise to another Plot than have prevented this. The Use I make of his Hear-say Evidence, is only to confirm what was afterwards so well Sworn and prov'd. The King, notwithstanding *Fisher's* Story, gave Orders for Hunting *February 22*, and he could not have avoided the Blow had it not been for a special Act of Providence : For the Day before my Lord *Portland* having been visiting his Daughter, the Countess of *Essex*, was going directly to *Kensington*, but he call'd to mind he had appointed a Man to come to him about some Business that Evening ; so he return'd to his Lodgings at *Whitehall*, where he found the Person he went to speak with, and another Man, waiting for him, who told him he had an Affair of very great Importance to communicate to his Lordship, who bid him stay till he had dispatch'd that other Person ; which, when he had done, the Man came up close to him, and said bluntly, Pray my Lord get the King not to Hunt to mor-

row, for if he goes he will be murder'd. This Man was Mr. *Pendergrafs*, an Irish Man, and a Papist; who insisted, as a Condition of his larger Discovery, that he should not be made use of as an Evidence; but the King talking to him himself, remov'd that scruple, and he became afterwards a good Protestant, a good Subject, a Baronet, and a Collonel of a Regiment, at the Head of which he dy'd in the Battel of *Tanieres*. *De la Rue* at the same time made the same Discovery to Brigadier General *Lewson*, as did another Conspirator to Sir *William Trumbal*: All which Informations from different Quarters, confirm'd their Truth, and gave his Majesty just Reason to take care of his Safety. In the mean time *Smith*, went on with his imperfect Discovery, which indeed ripen'd a little with the Plot, and he promis'd to give Informations of the *Conspirators Persons and their Numbers*; and to be equally engag'd to know the Day and Time, that so he might prevent their Design, which he was sure he could do if he was assisted in Time.

In the same Letter he gave Notice of the Arrival of *Mountague Brown*, Esq; King *James's* Secretary from *St. Germain*s; and to excuse himself for that his Informations differ'd in the main Point from the other Informers. As to carrying the King to *France*, he says, 'Tho' the Manner the Conspirators gave out among themselves of carrying the King into *France* was impracticable, no one but must infer, that their Design was to kill his Majesty. This Method was propos'd, as I presume, rather

ther to soften the Matter, that they might not by too blunt a Declaration, startle any of their Creatures from proceeding in so horrid a Design.

On the 17th of *February* he writes, *Affairs were never carry'd on with that Secrecy and Prudence as at this Time; the Party are jealous of every body: Two of the Principal Actors in the Design I have mention'd, see none but those their Instructions permit them to treat with, Ferguson is in the Plot, being call'd upon to equip.*

On the 18th of *February* he gave a larger Account of the Invasion Plot, and the Design against the King's Life, with the Names of several of the Conspirators, as Sir George Barclay, Major Holmes, Captain Charnock, Captain Porter, &c. and beg'd that the King might be intreated not to use his Diversion of Shooting or Hunting for some time: He was answer'd, *What wou'd you have the King coup'd up?* He reply'd, *Sir, I think it will be safe for the King not to Hunt or Shoot for a Day or two, when such a Design against his Life is resolv'd on, and to be put in execution with the first Opportunity,* He then propos'd how the Conspirators might be taken, that when the King went out to Hunt, and they fix'd to go, (of which he would give Notice) the King should not return the same way, but send a Coach and Guards back, and order another Party of Guards to follow them out of Town. *Smith pretends, the Conspirators wou'd not let him into the whole Secret, unless he was prepar'd to be an Actor, as he had engag'd to*

be, and he could not prepare without the Money: An Article he never forgets, and might have succeeded better in it, had he not been so importunate. His Information of the 19th of *February* was pretty full, but the Matter was then well known at Court, and was come to such a height, that he could not but have Intimation of something of it, considering he was mistaken for a Zealous Jacobite, and was in Confidence with some of the underling Plotters.

He said, ' They have got a Number of Officers, all or most *Roman Catholicks*, about Fifty in all, who are to undertake the seizure: And they in order to it have bought up Horses and Furniture, &c. And so are in a readiness when Time shall offer for the compleating it. I was with my Intelligencer, when he went to buy up Furniture, as directed; and I further examined him how this could be put in Execution, the Difficulty being great for so great a Number to appear and go out together. He assur'd me, that Difficulty is past over, as thus: That it is resolv'd, upon the Intelligence they expect of the Day the King is to Hunt or Shoot, to dispose themselves after this Method; to Inn by Two or Four at several Inns in adjacent Villages, habited as Country Gentlemen, and upon the Day and Time of the King's taking his Pleasure, to meet together and perform this Design. They conclude, that when this Matter is perform'd, it will so amuse the Government, that they cannot tell in Twenty-four Hours what

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Measures or Course to take, and that in that Time they shall have carry'd the King away, or grip'd him, as the Expression was. Besides this Body, they are to have twenty five Footmen in Ambuscade; and upon conclusion of this execrable Conspiracy, the Mob was to have been stir'd to rise in several Parts of the City, while the Gentlemen retreated to their several Counties to make Insurrections there; upon which *hurly burly* the French Fleet was to have brought over the late King James. The Persons particularly employ'd are these; Sir George Barclay, who is made a Major General, and to Command as chief Officer in this horrid Design, and Major Holmes, Capt. Charnock, Capt. Porter, Mr Chambers, a Captain of a French Privateer, Capt. Boyse, &c. This is an Affair resolv'd on, and I dare say will be put in Execution. As to the General Invasion, that will much depend upon this Action. I am told that I must be employ'd in Warwickshire.

This Boyse not many Months since had a Commission given him, and a Trust for securing to us our Acquisitions in *Newfoundland*, being one of those in whose Hands the Town of *Placentia* was thought safer than in those of the French. Notwithstanding that he was to have help'd them to have conquer'd us; having first stain'd himself with the Blood of our King.

Smith having no Money to buy a Horse to equip himself in Appearance for the Assassination, one of the Conspirators ask'd him, the 21st of February, the Day before he was

was to act, *Why he was out of the way?* To which he says he reply'd he was up late at Cards.

The same Person told him, *He had been call'd up late in the Night, and order'd to give their Friends Notice to be ready in the Morning the 22d of February; but several of them were not to be found, some lay out of their Lodgings, so that the Matter is defer'd to another Day. The Design against the King would have been put in execution the 22d, if all the Gentlemen could have been found. He went on, I call'd last Night to tell you, and would have been earlier this Morning, if they had stir'd out: Besides, Chambers has brought Word the King does not hunt to day; but it will be put in execution whenever he goes a Hunting. I believe Tuesday next it must be done, for they are ready on the other side.*

Smith boasted afterwards that he had the same Intelligence from another; that the Conspirators were to have set out after they had Notice that the King was gone a Hunting, and that they were to Quarter at and about Turnham-Green.

It is not to be doubted but Smith had some Knowledge of the Plot, and gave Particulars of the Conspirators Designs, which are not to be met with elsewhere; if they were I should not have inserted them here: But then it is no more to be doubted, that as he had his Reward only in view, a prudent and wary Minister would be careful not to over value his Services, or trust him beyond Certainty. He was so enrag'd against his

his Grace the Duke of *Sh*—y for not sending him Money as often as he sent for it, that he complain'd to the House of Lords, insinuating that his Grace, by his Usage of him, pretended rather to stifle his Informations than neglect them. 'Tis true, his Complaints had such effect, that the Lords sent to the Duke, then in the Country, to know what pass'd between him and *Smith*, which his Grace acquainted them with in the following Letter.

Eyford, 13th Jan. 1694.

MY LORD,

HAVING receiv'd the Commands of the House of Lords to lay before their Lordships what Letters I receiv'd from one *Smith* in *February* last; or in case I had kept none, then to acquaint the House with what I can remember was contain'd in them: I am very sorry not to be able so fully to comply with their Lordships Directions, as I wish I could; for having heard long since, that this Man did pretend to great Merit for his Discoveries, and had on several Occasions, in a very unhandsome Manner, complain'd of me, I did then endeavour to collect what Letters he had sent me, that I might judge how his Intelligence appear'd when put together; for as it came to me I could make little of it. But I found I could retrieve so few, and those generally of an old Date, (when I had more value for his Intel-

Intelligence than I had afterwards) that I
 am almost certain I have none of those
 Letters left which their Lordships desire
 to see. I shall therefore apply my self to
 give them the best Account I can of what
 he did inform, that is most material at
 this time; which I am the better able to
 collect, because several things he then
 mention'd fell out so true, that I was sur-
 priz'd how he could know them and not
 more, till I understood he had his Intelli-
 gence from one *Hewet*, a Youth, that liv'd
 with Major *Holmes's* Brother (I think)
 and was about that time often employ'd to
 wait on Sir *George Barclay*; by which
 means he had opportunity to guess or over-
 hear Particulars, which otherwise I sup-
 pose he might not be trusted with. I re-
 member in Winter, *Smith* writ very posi-
 tive of an Invasion intended from *France*,
 which was to break out at the arrival of
 the *Toulon* Fleet; and that many Gentle-
 men of Quality and Officers were sent
 from *St. Germain's* on that Design. He
 nam'd Mr. *Henry Brown*, my Lord *Moun-
 tague's* Brother, at one time; at another
 Sir *George Barclay*, *Holmes*, *Counter*, and
 others. Then he gave hints of some great
 Design, which he should soon discover the
 bottom of; and afterwards grew more
 particular, that it was to seize the King's
 Person, and named *Barclay*, *Charnock*,
Holmes, and others, as employ'd in the
 Villany; and that at the same Hour this
 was to be executed, there was to be a
 general Rising in all the Counties of Eng-
 land.

land. He was different in his Accounts about the manner of seizing the King: Sometimes Mr. *Latin's* Lodge near *Richmond* was to be attack'd, and the Walls scaled by Foot, whilst he was there. Sometimes an Attempt of the like Nature was to be made at *Kensington-House*; and at other times the King was to be set upon going to or coming from Hunting. Near to the Day the Assassination was intended, he was very earnest for Money to buy a Horse and Equipage; upon which I desir'd Mr. *V* ——— to talk with him, if he knew, of his own Knowledge, any Person engag'd in such a Design; for being never able to bring any thing in Confirmation of what he had asserted, from whom he had it, or at what time it was to be executed, I supposed there was no Truth in the Story; or if there were, I might possibly have set him out to be engag'd in it. He gave Mr. *V* ——— no Satisfaction upon discoursing with him, but proceeded in his Promises to him, that nothing could be attempted, but he would give him or me an Account of it. When the whole was brought to light, and it appear'd he was not enough in the Secret to have prevented it, I intended notwithstanding to have done something for him, and, at his own desire, conceal'd his Name, to give him an opportunity, as he pretended, to apprehend *Chambers*. In the mean time I had an Account, that in very publick Places he began to threaten he would complain of me to the Parliament, whereupon I

neither

neither thought it safe nor decent to have any more to do with him.

What I receiv'd relating to the Attempt on his Majesty's Person or the Invasion, I always gave the King an Account of it, whilst I was able to wait on him; but being much indisposed, I had his Majesty's leave to go into the Country for a few Days, where I remain'd till I was commanded back upon the happy Discovery of that horrid Design.

This, my Lord, is all I can collect to the Subject their Lordships are pleased to command. I beg the Favour it may be communicated to the House, and am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most, &c.

Sh—y.

By this it appears his Majesty had constant Information of *Smith's* Discovery, and that at once destroys his false and ungrateful Charge against the Duke of Sh—. One Secret there remains still in this matter, that *Smith* was as well an Acquaintance of Dr. Dr—e, as of *Hewet*, the Conspirators of the Publisher of the High-Church Memorial, as well as the Publishers of King *James's* Declaration, and that he was assisted in his Writings against his Grace by both Dr. Dr—e and *Tom. Brown*, Staunch Churchmen;

men; by which we may see what an Agreement there is between the Enemies to our Constitution and its Friends, whether *Papists* or *Tories*.

I shall not enter into the Particulars of the Assassination, it is too well known to deserve a Place in Secret History; I shall only observe, that it had so good effect as to Unite the Protestants of *England* more than any one thing ever did; and the House of Commons resolv'd on a National Association, as did also the House of Lords, which differ'd very little from that of the House of Commons: Instead of the Words in the Common's Association, *King William is Rightful and Lawful King*, the Lords inserted,

That his present Majesty King William hath a Right by Law to the Crown of this Realm, and that neither the late King James, nor the pretended Prince of Wales, nor any other Person, hath any Right whatsoever to the same.

The Peers who were present, and refus'd to sign the Lords Association, were:

Marquis of <i>Hallifax</i> ,	Earl of <i>Nottingham</i> ,
Marquis of <i>Normanby</i> ,	Dr. <i>Sprat</i> , Bishop of
Earl of <i>Chesterfield</i> ,	<i>Rocheſter</i> ,
Earl of <i>Thanet</i> ,	Dr. <i>Watson</i> , Bishop of
Earl of <i>Wincheſea</i> ,	<i>St. Davids</i> .
Earl of <i>Scarsdale</i> ,	Lord <i>Jefferies</i> ,
Earl of <i>Craven</i> ,	Lord <i>Chandois</i> ,
Earl of <i>Aylesbury</i> ,	Lord <i>Ferrars</i> .
Earl of <i>Feverſham</i> ,	

The

The Commons who refus'd to sign the Association that was deliver'd to King William by the Speaker and the whole House, were :

Berks.	Richard Fownes.
William Jennyngs,	Ebor.
Simon Harcourt.	Robert Byerly,
Bucks.	Sir Marmaduke Wivill,
Alexander Denton,	Sir Michael Wentworth,
Mountague Drake,	Essex.
Sir James Etheridge.	Sir Eliab Harvey.
Cornwal.	Gloucester.
Henry Lord Hyde,	Robert Payne,
John Manley,	William Frye.
Daniel Eliot,	Richard How,
Henry Fleming,	John How.
Francis Buller,	Herefordshire.
John Tredenham,	Robert Price.
Seymour Tredenham,	Huntington.
Sir William Coryton,	Anthony Hammond.
John Mountstevens,	Kent.
Bernard Granville,	Sir John Banks.
Charles Lord Cheney,	Lancashire.
Francis Gwyn.	Leigh Banks,
Cheshire.	Thomas Brotherton,
Sir Thomas Grosvenor,	Sir Roger Bradshaw,
Derbyshire.	Peter Shakerley.
Sir Gilbert Clarke,	Lincolnshire.
Devon.	George Lord Castleton,
Francis Courteney,	Sir John Bolles.
Sir Edw. Seymour,	Norfolk.
John Granville.	Sir John Wodehouse.
Dorsetshire.	Northampton.
Thomas Strangways,	Gilbert Dolben.
Thomas Freke,	

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the Northumberland.	Sir Thomas Dyke,
Vil- William Foster.	William Stringer.
use, Oxford.	Warwickshire.
10 Montague Ld Norris,	William Bromley,
Sir Robert Jenkinson,	Andrew Archer,
Heneage Finch,	George Bohun,
Sir Edward Norreys,	Lord Digby,
Thomas Rowney,	Francis Grevill.
James Bertie,	Westmorland.
Sir Robert Dashwood.	Sir William Twisden,
Salop.	Sir Chr. Musgrave.
Edward Kynaston,	Wiltshire.
John Kynaston,	Robert Bertie,
Andrew Newport,	William Harvey,
George Weld.	Henry Pye,
Somerset.	Thomas Bennet,
Sir John Trevillian,	Willam Daniel.
Edward Berkley,	Worcestershire.
John Sandford,	Samuel Swift,
Sir Charles Carterett,	Henry Parker.
Sir John Smith.	Wales.
Southampton.	Edward Jones,
Henry Holmes,	Jeffery Jefferies,
Thomas Done.	Sir Rich. Middleton,
Staffordshire.	Edward Brereton,
Robert Burdet,	Sir John Conway,
Sir John Leveson Gower,	Thomas Mansel,
John Grey,	Wi. Williams.
Sir Henry Gough.	
Surrey.	
John Parsons.	
Sussex.	In all 93 Dissem-
Sir William Morley,	ters.
John Lewkner,	

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Of

Of those that chearfully subscrib'd this *Protestant Association* the Number was so great, that to give the Names of them we must give a List of almost all the House of Commons, the *Refusers* excepted. Above Four hundred of the Members Voluntarily and Heartily set their Hands to it, and it is to be observ'd that in the larger and richer Counties, as *Tork, Devon, Kent and Essex*, there are very few *Refusers* to be met with; but *Oxfordshire*, notwithstanding the Loyal Lessons of her University, out of nine Members could afford no more than two Subscribers.

It is not to be forgotten, that when this *Association* was debated in the House, the *French* lay at *Calais* with an Army and Fleet ready to invade us. Then did these *Refusers* of this Loyal and necessary Test of their Allegiance to King *William*, use all their Rhetorick and Interest to debauch others from their Duty to their Prince, and their Love to their Country, by speaking it in Parliament to dissuade them from agreeing to the *Association*. One Instance of which we must not omit: When the House of Commons had appointed a Day on purpose for the signing it, the Avenues to the House were that Morning beset, and several of the Members not left to the Freedom of their own Wills; but the little Arguments and Addrefs of the Party were made use of to hinder their Voluntary signing that *Association*.

Among others, one of the most Eminent of their Party, ever famous for Wit and Elo

Eloquence, study'd the Point with great Industry, and fram'd an Opinion to startle the more unwary. His Position was as follows: By the Statute of Henry VII. the Subjects are condemn'd in taking an Oath to, or fighting for a King *de facto*; but the Association is not within the Statute, but an Overt-Act of Treason against the King *de jure*, and punishable as such when he shall be restor'd.

This Opinion had some Effect on Gentlemen who had not Law enough to perceive the Nonsense of it. When the Grand Plot was discover'd, they did their utmost to baffle it, as they had done the *Lancashire* Plot, which they would have turn'd on the Government, had not the Truth of it been confirm'd in the Determination of the General Conspiracy. Some of these Men appear'd so Audacious in all these Instances, that one would have thought they had either no Brains or no Foreheads. I cannot help repeating here the Observation of a good Author, who wrote in that Reign on this Subject. They treat the King with the Character of Usurper and Tyrant. 'Tis no matter what Opinion they have of his Title, but they belye their own Experience to call him Tyrant. 'Tis his mild Reign that has made them so Insolent, and had but the Ordinary Course of Justice been let loose amongst them, they had not been so considerable either in Court or Country, and his Majesty would have had less trouble, and have been more safe.

This Reflection is so just, and the Enemies of our Protestant Constitution so insolent, that one may reasonably hope 'twill have its

effect in all succeeding Times, when the Laws shall exert their Vigour. Upon the breaking out of the Plot, they entertain'd the People very remarkably. At one time they told them, *That now all was discover'd, and the Government was safe.* At other times they very gravely pretended, *That so many were engag'd in it, 'twas adviseable to connive and not prosecute it any further.* What Absurdities are they ever imposing upon us? If the Conspiracy was so formidable, that it was dangerous to enquire into it, it was much more dangerous to let it alone. The *underling Plotters* were executed, that the Principals might escape, What Reason there was to spare so infamous a Generation, and what Hopes might be conceiv'd of their Repentance and good Behaviour for the future, may be determin'd by this one Consideration.

After the Attempt at *La Hogue*, and other repeated Treasons since the Revolution, his Majesty was Graciously pleas'd, the 30 of *May*, 1695. to give the Royal Assent to the last Act of Indemnity, and but three Days after, as appear'd by the Evidence at the Tryal of the Assassins, these Villains had a Meeting to consider how to murder him and destroy us.

I have frequently met with Criticisms on the Title and Design of my *History*; I must own the Title has been continu'd more on Account of its Connection to the First Part than Reference to its Contents; tho I desire any of those well inform'd Criticks to direct me to any Originals, or detect me of Falsities.

ties; and I often laugh at the Discoveries they pretend to make, by hitting on some Things by Chance, which were not intended by my self as *Arcanas*, being only known Facts set in a true Light. In which, however, they never were shewn before, and therefore may in some Measure be admitted as Parts of *Secret History*. As I was not of Age nor Station to have Intelligence my self of such important Matters from the first Hands, it must follow of course that I had them communicated to me. Inspiration is no Qualification for a Modern Historian: Yet I must still insist upon it, that none of those severe Criticks have ever been able to find out the Source from whence I drew these Memoirs; and I have from their Reflections learnt to have as much Contempt for their Reading, as I have for their Judgment.

The Reader will I hope excuse this Digression; 'twas occasion'd by an Objection I lately met with on this Head, and I could not let my Remark upon it cool, it being so necessary for the Authority of my History.

What I have said relating to the *Assassination Plot*, and the *Association* made thereupon; I have taken from a Tract written in those Times, and in few People's Hands, by an *Anonymous Author*, but his Performance easily discovers his Merit, and I shall have done with him in the following Quotation.

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These

These Men, says he, were Advocates for all the Jacobite Traytors, and did what they could to stifle the Discovery of the Plot. They procur'd the Names of those to be conceal'd that were concern'd in it, or that had got Pardons, or made Terms with King James, by which abominable Practice all future Plots are in a manner protected from being discover'd and ill Men encourag'd to act against the Government without Fear.

We shall find that several of the present M——rs are among the Non-Associators, though their good Friend Mr. Rob——H——l——y, and his Pious Brother left them in the lurch, and were so Civil as to give their Names on so extraordinary Occasion, but of what Disposition those that preside in our Administration now are, one may see by their having grown old in every Principle and Practice which thwarted those of the *Revolution* and favour'd King James. I confess I was very well pleas'd to see in the foregoing List these very Staunch Churchmen,

<i>Simon Harcourt,</i>	<i>John Granville,</i>
<i>William Bromley,</i>	<i>Francis Gwyn,</i>
<i>Thomas Mansel,</i>	<i>John How, &c.</i>

Who have since born the same Testimony on all such laudable Occasions: It can not be said of them, that King William or the House of *Hanover* have any Obligations to them for their good Services in Parliament.

ment; and it wou'd be Injustice to their extraordinary Merit in the opposite Interest, not to take Notice that they are not of the Men *who are given to Change*, or are to be mended by Experience. A very great Man writing in a Treatise of his, which going under another Name must not be mention'd, of these Men and upon this very Occasion, says: *To this Loyal Tory Party, as they would be esteem'd, we find all those attach'd, whose Principles imbib'd in the late Reign, make them firmly adhere to the Interest of King James. Here we find all those in a manner who were against the Abdication, Recognition, who wou'd not allow his present Majesty to be rightful King, and refus'd to enter into the Association to preserve him and his Government: In whose Party are all those likewise, whom either the Love of Money, or of the St. Germain Family, or Popery, has reconcil'd to the French Interest. 'Tis most certain, that there is not a Man in the House engag'd in any of these Interests who is not one of this Party; and as certain it is, that all the Papists, Friends of King James and the French King without Doors, applauded their Proceedings, and own that they are fairly represented by them. That great Man not only charges them in General, he comes to Particulars, and we shall there meet with the Names of the Heads of the Party, by which we may know them in all Times, and 'twill be seen that they are almost all Disgusted Renegados from the Conventicle.*

Mr. F——y,	Mr. St. J——n,
Mr. H——y,	Mr. W——ton,
Mr. H——y of Wey-	Mr. J——n H——w,
mouth,	Sir J. P——ton,
Mr. B——ston,	Mr. Har——rt,
Mr. Ha——n,	Mr. Ham——d.
Mr. R——yl,	

These were the Men who have endeavour'd to set up an Arbitrary persecuting Government, and prevent the good effects of the *Revolution* and *Acts of Settlement*.

Since the former Pages were printed, it has pleas'd God to secure to us the *Protestant Succession*, by setting King George on the Throne; and as my View when I first set about this History was only to expose the Enemies to his present Majesty's *Rightful* and *Lawful* Title, when they were in the Height of their Power, and few besides me durst assert the Justice of that *Revolution* and those *Acts of Settlement*, in opposition to their *Hereditary*, *Unalienable*, *Indefeasible Right*; so now it is with the greatest Joy that I see those Enemies of our King and Constitution fal'n from their ill got Dignities into the lowest State of Disgrace and Contempt. What a *Secret History* might be made of their hated and ruinous Administration! Some Attempts have been offer'd by their own Creatures, to hide or disguise the Truth, and by confessing some Faults, and setting Glosses on others, prevent Enquiry into the rest. 'Tis to be hop'd some well inform'd Pen will bring their Deeds of *Darkness* to *Light*, and then I will defy all Histo-

ry to produce such *Anecdotes*. I shall in the mean time have no longer any Restraint upon me with respect to them, nor be forc'd, as I have been often oblig'd to do, to prevaricate with my self, and soften my Sentiments and Expressions to escape the *Persecution* of their *Tyranny*.

We have seen, and shall see again and again in the sequel of this History, that their Designs against his Majesty's Title is as Old as the *Revolution*! We shall find them in every Black Business where King *William's* Title was in question, or the *Succession* in the *Hanover* Line debated: We meet with a fine Parcel of them among the Non-Associators, and shall again meet with them pleading for that Arch Traytor *Fenwick* when he comes upon the Stage, not out of any Tenderness to his Person, or Opinion of his Innocence, but purely because the safety of King *William's* Person and *Government* was interested in it, and his Friends strenuously asserted the Justice and Necessity of bringing him to Punishment.

The Conspiracy to murder the King and subjecting us to *France* being detected and prevented, as has been hinted, the chief Conspirators Try'd and Executed, the *Faction* were very industrious to turn the Execution of those Assassins to their Advantage, by making them go off like *Heroes* and *Martyrs*. Three of them, *Charnock*, *Keys* and *King*, were formally absolv'd at the Gallows by three High-flying Parsons *Collier*, *Cook* and *Snat*, of which we shall say something further in the following Pages.

Neither

Neither was this all they did for the Conspirators, they procur'd some Courtiers to solicit and earnestly press the King not to Pardon *Charnock* when he offer'd a Discovery, and some of his Majesty's best Friends, who were for going into the Examination of the Matter without Reserve, on the contrary advis'd the saving him to make so good use of his Life, that Traytor knowing more of the Hellish Plot than any one of his Accomplices. For this Reason, till he was hang'd, the *Jacobites* got their Emissaries to cry out against him as a mischievous, cunning and dangerous Fellow, whom it was by no means safe to shew Mercy to. But after he was Executed, and his Mouth stopt, they then represented him as one of the most ingenious, brave and learned Man in the Universe, and a Letter was sometime after publish'd in his Name, said to be written by himself upon his Condemnation, to keep up the languishing Spirits of the Faction, and animate them for such another wicked and bloody Attempt.

This Letter of *Charnock's* was mightily talk'd of: 'Twas full of Treason, and is pretended to be address'd to a Friend of his, *In Confidence of his Friendship and Discretion that he will not divulge what he writes, but in a proper Season, when the Minds of Men grown more Calm should be more susceptible of Reason, and when it may be done without drawing more Persecution upon those honest Men who lie under the Jealousy and Suspicion of the present Government.* And when do you think was the proper Season with these *Jacobites* to pub-

lish

lish that Letter, which was written just before, or soon after *Charnock* was hang'd? Why the Incident of the Duke of *Gloucester's* Death, that Branch of the Protestant Settlement being cut off: Then did the murdering *Faction* believe it a proper Season to take off the Head of it, and revive the black Design of *assassinating* his Majesty, which that treasonable Author owns; and tho' he endeavours to have it believ'd King *James* knew nothing of the former *Assassination Plot*, yet he acknowledges the abdicated King probably would have come into another. Was there ever such hellish Impudence, and such detestable Villany? The Words of the Jacobite Letter will abundantly clear up King *James's* pious and generous Intentions, *Such Offers*, says he, *formerly made, had always been rejected by King James; but it may reasonably be presum'd, that what his Majesty had for some Reasons rejected, he might not be displeas'd with the doing of it another time, when his own and the Publick Good necessarily require it.*

One wou'd think 'twas impossible for any Men to be employ'd at King *William's* Court who cou'd have the least Tenderness for such a Traytor, who wou'd not be for the most wholsom Severities against such an abandon'd Assassin; but such was the Prevalence of the Faction, or their Abettors, that when, upon Complaint of this Traiterous Libel, a Proclamation was issu'd out against the Author, there was only a Hundred Pounds offer'd for the Discovery of him, and the same for the Printer; which exactly tallies with the Reward put upon the Head of the Pretender

tender in a late Proclamation, *Five Thousand Pounds*; just like as if Mr *Pit* had lost his fine Jewel, and shou'd bid a Pot of Ale to him that should bring it him. I am satisfy'd the Reflection of a very Judicious Author on this accurs'd Article, will be very acceptable to the Reader, because it is so consistent with the Practices of the Faction in our late bad Times, and will probably be so when ever the Revolution Constitution is exerted. He is speaking of the seasonable Time for attempting King *William's* Life, hinted at in *Charnock's*, or his pretended Letter: 'When
 ' their Friends by their great Diligence and
 ' Assiduity, and leaving no Stone unturn'd
 ' to serve their Cause by spreading Rumours
 ' and raising malicious Slanders, by putting
 ' the worse Interpretations on all the Actions of the King and his Ministers, by complaining loudly of the Injuries done to
 ' the Publick, and managing so as to draw
 ' crafty and ambitious Men, who love themselves, and even People of less Craft, but
 ' more love for their Country, into their
 ' Party, should be able to change the Season, and make it more favourable and
 ' proper for their Designs. Again, When
 ' by managing thus, and traducing the
 ' State, they should alter the Affections of
 ' the People, and not only make them abate of that warm Zeal with which they
 ' then supported the Government; but
 ' bring them to such a Temper as to
 ' make them own, there was good Reason
 ' for all their Calumnies. Again, When
 ' they had so far destroy'd the Reverence

‘ of Government, as that Plotters, who
‘ were then under great Discouragements,
‘ might strengthen their Interest so by run-
‘ ning in with the clamorous and discon-
‘ tented, and setting up the Cry with them,
‘ as to hope to carry on their Traiterous
‘ Designs without suffering for it, as they
‘ then did.’ Let us consider a little, it
will be well worth our digressing for it, how
the Faction have of late behav’d themselves,
and with what exactness it agrees with the
Season, when they thought it a fit Time to
assassinate King *William*, of ever *Glorious*
Memory, and bring in King *James*. How
diligent and *assiduous* were they to cry up
the Danger of the Church? What vile *Mis-*
interpretations did they put on the Actions
of the best *Ministry* that ever this Nation
was blest’d with? How did they draw in
the Thoughtless Addressers to approve of
their groundless Clamours? How did they,
by traducing the *State*, alienate the Minds
of the People, and engage them to chuse
two Parliaments, whose Deeds cannot be
parallel’d in our History? How did they
by these means cool Men’s Zeal, and bring
them to own there had been a Mismanage-
ment, when all our Affairs prosper’d both
at Home and Abroad, and we had the most
faithful and able Ministers, and the most
brave and fortunate of Generals? How was,
and still is, all *Reverence to Government* de-
stroy’d by them in their Riotous and Re-
bellious Mobs and Mutinies? How do those
that were the Instruments of *changing the*
Ministry, making the *Peace* and the *Dozen*,
strengthen

strengthen their *Interest* by falling in with the Cry of *Grievances of Taxes, Funds, of a Land Consuming War, and the like?* And how do they hope to escape by the Instances of the Lenity and Moderation to the *Jacobites* in the *Days of Assassination and Invasion?* How of a Piece, in short, are all their Actions, and then what Time can we hope for that will not be seasonable to them to carry on their Villainous Designs to subvert our Protestant Government?

The next Debate which gave them an Opportunity to shew their Aversion to King *William*, and their little Concern for his Safety, was that of Sir *John Fenwick*, the most avow'd and insolent *Jacobite* in *England*, who, with Sir *Theophilus Oglethorp*, another of the *Crew*, had the Impudence to offer a Personal Affront to the late Queen *Mary*, of Bleffed and Glorious Memory, by cocking his Hat in her Presence in the *Park*.

This Man had been in all the Conspiracies to destroy the Government, ever since his Master King *James* was abdicated, and was in his Reign one of the chief Instruments of his *Despotick Power*. He it was that distinguish'd himself by soliciting the Bill of Attainder against the Duke of *Monmouth*, with so much earnestness, that he got it to be read thrice and pass'd in a Day: But when his own Bill of Attainder was on foot, how did the Faction cry out against it, as a Thing without *Precedent*, though the poor Duke of *Monmouth's* being in Arms could not be better prov'd than was his plotting

to bring in a *French* Army to Murder or Enslave us. The Pretence of its being unprecedented has been mightily urg'd by the Party, though if they knew ever so little of *Story*, they would have read of several *Attainders*, even without Hearing, of Men punish'd by Laws made for the Punishment of a Crime after 'twas committed: As that of the Bishop of *Rocheſter's* Cook in *Henry* the VIIIth's Time, who for Poyſoning ſome of his Domesticks, was condemn'd to be boyl'd to Death Alive, by an Act made after the Crime. Upon the *Nun* of *Kent's* Impoſture, the Parliament adjudg'd thoſe that had abetted her to be guilty of High-Treaſon, and ſeveral of them were attain'd in the ſame Reign. The Counteſs of *Salisbury* and the Duke of *Norfolk* were then alſo attain'd, without being brought to answer, and for ſo ſlight Matters as *Paſſionate Words*, *Coats of Arms*, and Pieces of Embroidery. The Duke of *Somerſet*, King *Edward* the Sixth's Unkle, was condemn'd upon Depoſition read in Court. The Attainder of *Strafford* in *Charles* the Firſt's Time is ſo well known, it needs not be mention'd. In *Charles* the Second's Reign, ſeveral of the *Royal Martyr's* Judges were attain'd after their Death, and their Bodies taken up and expos'd to Infamy, tho no Law could reach that. Nay, the Body of the greateſt Sea-Officer that ever made our Name famous on the Ocean, General *Blake*, though he had not been a *King's Judge*, was unbury'd and thrown among the Dirt. Yet notwithſtanding all theſe Examples, *Fenwick's* Attainder forſooth,

forsooth, was a Thing the Faction pretend-
ed had never been heard of before.

What is said here is not to give any Coun-
tenance to the Condemnation of Persons by
extraordinary Means, when the ordinary
would not condemn them. Such Instances
shou'd be very rare, and never, but when
the *Legislature* is oblig'd to interpose for
the safety of the Government, when the
Crime is enormous, and the Criminal has
been either instrumental in quashing the
Legal Proof of it, as was *Fenwick's Case*, or
it is so self evident, that there is not the
least room to doubt of it. Now no body in
the World doubted of *Fenwick's Guilt*; his
Advocates cou'd not deny that *Goodman*,
whom his Enissaries spirited away, had sworn
it before, and *Porter* was ready to swear it.
All own'd *Fenwick* was certainly a Traytor,
and had conspir'd to restore King *James* by
a *French Power*. Every Nation has a Last
and Sovereign Resource in all extraordinary
Cases; ours is in the King and Two Houses
of Parliament, yet so Zealous was the Party
for the Liberty of the Subject, at the same
time they were in a Plot to destroy all Li-
berty, that their Friends could not bear to
hear of any Step a little out of the common
Road, because the Security of King *William*
and the Protestant Religion was concern'd
in it.

I doubt not a short Account of the whole
Process of that Affair will be entertaining
to the Reader; the Tryal itself being very
scarce, and besides stuff'd with a great
many

many Things equally tedious and impertinent.

On the 6th of *November* 1696. Admiral *Russel* acquainted the House, ' That his Majesty had given Leave to lay before them several Papers in the Nature of Informations of Sir *John Fenwick*, in which he and several other Persons of Quality were reflected on, &c.' Sir *William Trumbell*, then Secretary of State, also acquainted the House, That the King had given leave for those Papers to be laid before them, which was accordingly done. The chief Paper was his Examination taken by Mr Secretary *Vernon*, and his Confession of the Plot sign'd with his own Hand. When Sir *John Fenwick* was brought before the House of Commons, the Speaker, *Paul Foley Esq;* inform'd him, the House expected a full and ample Discovery of all he knew, for they look'd on his Informations as the Contrivance of others, which indeed they had good Reason to do, there being a Charge against the Duke of *Brewsbury*, the Earl of *Marlborough*, Admiral *Russel*, General *Talmash*, and the King's best Friends. His Papers were so drawn up, as rather to raise Jealousies and Distrusts of his Majesty's most able and faithful Servants, than to satisfy him of the Designs of his Enemies; rather to perplex than inform the Court of what they desir'd to know. I have seen that Examination of his, and I hope what I shall relate out of it will be allow'd to be Matter of *Secret History*, the *MSS.* having never been made publick, and being in very few Hands. He

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had

had the Confidence to say, *King James thought himself sure of the Army by means of the Lord Marlborough.* That Great and Victorious Lord has since shewn by a thousand Illustrious Actions, how sure King James was of an Army, with which the Lord Marlborough beat the French from one End of Europe to the other. He said the abdicated King made sure of the Fleet by means of *Killegrew, Delaval, and Carter*, Admirals but not having the face to charge Sir *Cloudesly Shovel* with Disaffection, he owns *Delaval* and *Killegrew* said, *Shovel was not to be spoke to, but they would secure him, and let the French Fleet sail by.* He added, *The Lord Brudenell was out 6000 l. That he did not write to King James in Person, but said his Wife did.* As to his own Correspondence with that King, he own'd he had *Two Letters from him, and no more.* What follows is as shocking and improbable as any part of his Fiction: He said, that being coming in his Coach from *Hide Park*, he met General *Talmash* in his in *St. James-street* that the latter beckon'd to him to go into *St. James's Court*; that they came out of their Coaches, and took a Turn or two there, at which time *Talmash* whisper'd him, *They shou'd serve both on the same Side.* He added, that Brigadier *Mayne* promis'd to come over to King James's Interest in *Ireland*, and he said, *He did indeed wonder he did not.*

He confess'd, Lieutenant General *Kirk* had given King James the same Assurances.

That

That the Earl of *Bath* had engag'd to secure *Plymouth*.

That *Sheerness* was to be secur'd by the Deputy Governor.

That *Landguard Fort* was to be deliver'd up by Coll. *Crawford*, and that Commissary *Crawford* had given Mr — — one of King *James's* Agents, a List of the Army.

That the Lord *Montgomery* was in the plot, and had been with him about it several times.

I mention this with the more Pleasure, to shew the Insolence of those, who, in defiance of all *Law*, give that Lord the Title of *Duke of Powis*. He was pardon'd, it is true, for that Crime, but how he became a *Duke* for it who can tell, but those who think King *James* was the only Fountain of Honour, and that tho' his Father, the Marquis of *Powis*, was out-law'd for *Treason*; yet his pretended Title of *Duke*, given him by an excommunicated King at *St. Germain's*, descends to his Son in *Ormond-street*: His Estate was forfeited, and the King gave a *Grant* of it to the Earl of *Rochfort*: But by some good Management or other the Out-lawry was so drawn up, that the Lord *Montgomery* found means to get it revers'd, and a certain Lawyer the Money to buy a stately Mansion, not a *Sabbath Days* Journey from *London*.

I hope this Digression will be excus'd, it being a part of History which will surely be allow'd to come within my Title. *Fenwick* gave Information, that Admiral *Carter* promis'd to come in, but did not, and that several great Lords, as the Duke of *Shrewsbury*,

the Earl of *Mariborough*, the Lord *Godolphin*, Admiral *Russel*, and others, had accepted of Pardons from King *James* : A Fact so flagrant, that I am amaz'd a Gentleman could be guilty of it, unless 'tis allow'd to Staunch Jacobites, as well as to Staunch Papists, to *Lye* for the Good of the Cause. There are many other Things of the like Nature in his Informations, which were incredible, that the House conceiv'd a just Indignation against him for prevarication with the King, his Ministers, and themselves in such a manner.

When he was first brought to their Bar and press'd to make a more sincere Confession, he complain'd that *he had been very hardly dealt with* ; for whatever he had said and the substance of it is above-mentioned the Answer was, 'Tis not Satisfactory. One can scarce forbear Laughing at his *Usage*, who could think such a Confession could be in any wise Satisfactory, and persisting in it, that he had no more to say for himself,

A Motion was made for leave to bring a Bill to attain Sir *John Fenwick* of High Treason, and after a Debate thereupon, the House divided,

Yeas 179, Noes 61.

Three to One being for the Affirmative and Sir *Thomas Trevor*, made Lord *Trevor* the Creation of the Twelve Peers at once on the Occasion of the Peace, then Attorney General, was order'd to prepare and bring

IV. In the Bill. I shall not enter into the detail of the Tryal, but only observe what was said most to the purpose, by the Members who spoke for or against the Bill, of whom have the List that follows.

A LIST of those Members that spoke in the Case of Sir John Fenwick's Attainder.

For the Bill.

Bar. Mountagu Esq;	Collonel Crawford,
Chancellor of the	Hugh Boscawen Esq;
Exchequer.	Sir Robert Rich,
Sir Thomas Littleton,	Sir Henry Hobart,
William Cowper Esq;	Sir Henry D. Colt,
John Smith Esq;	Sir Walter Young,
Edward Clark Esq;	Mr. Vernon,
Mr. Sloan,	Lord Walden,
Sir Thomas Trevor,	Harry Mordaunt Esq;
Sir John Hawles,	Mr. Palmes,
James Mountague Esq;	Mr. Pultney,
George Radney Bridges	Sir William Strick-
Esq;	land,
Sir Joseph Williamson,	Sir William Lowther,
Mr. Whittaker,	Sir Herbert Crofts,
Lord Cutts,	Sir Thomas Mompes-
Lord Coningsby,	son,
Mr. Waller,	Peregrine Bertie Esq;
John Methwen Esq;	Sir Ralph Delaval,
Goodwin Wharton Esq;	Dr. Oxenden.
Sir William Trumbal,	
Admiral Russel,	

Against the Bill.

Lord Norreys,	Lord Castleton,
Sir Richard Temple,	Sir William Williams,
Nicholas Hooper Esq;	Edward Harley Esq;
John How Esq;	Mr. Gery,
Robert Price Esq;	Mr. Newport,
Sir Christopher Musgrave,	Mr. Pelham,
Sir Francis Winnington,	Henry Boyle Esq;
John Granville Esq;	Lord Digby,
Tho. Brotherton Esq;	Henry Paget Esq;
Sir Edward Seymour,	Mr. Foley,
Simon Harcourt Esq;	Sir Charles Carteret,
Herbage Finch Esq;	Gilbert Dolben Esq;
Sir Thomas Dyke,	Sir Robert Cotton,
Robert Harley Esq;	Anthony Hammond,
Sir William Coryton,	Esq;
John Manley Esq;	William Bromley,
Sir Godfrey Copley,	Esq;
Sir Marmaduke Wyvil,	Mr. Jefferies.

The Council for the King.

Sir Henry Gould,
Sir Selathiel Lovel.

The Council for Sir John Fentwick.

Sir Thomas Powis,
Sir Bartholomew Shower.

After

After Sir John Fenwick was brought to the Bar, the Bill of Attainder was read, and Sir Henry Gould first spoke to the Charge against him, as to his conspiring a *French* Invasion, which had been prov'd before the Grand Jury by the Oaths of Goodman and Porter; but Goodman, as has been hinted, being spirited away, it was the reason that Fenwick was not try'd at the Old Bailey as well as Charnock and the other Traytors. Sir Henry Gould explains the Matter further, thus: Here stands our Matter, here was an Indictment found according to the Law you made last Sessions of Parliament, by two Witnesses, to one Species of Treason against Sir John Fenwick, (we have one of those Witnesses here viva voce) but Sir John Fenwick hath protracted his Tryal by frequent Assurances of making a Discovery. He had been try'd in Course, without these Applications, and found Guilty. Sir Selathiel Lovel spoke to the same purpose, and then the Evidence being about to be call'd in, Sir Thomas Powis objected, that Sir John Fenwick had had no Notice that Evidence wou'd be heard against him, so as to provide his Witnesses also. What a Scandal is some part of the Lawyers Business to the Noble Profession of the Law? Wou'd a Gentleman for 20 Pieces prevaricate thus with himself, and so August an Assembly, in favour of a notorious Traytor to his King and Country. Fenwick had had the Vote of the House, and the Copy of the Bill sent him; he had petition'd for Council, and it had been allow'd him, and did neither he nor his Council imagine that Witnesses wou'd be heard to

prove the Allegations in the Bill. If Conscience had any thing to do in some sorts of Business, how hardly wou'd some Men earn their Money? A few Pieces more fee'd this Sir Thomas Powis to plead against the Seven Bishops, when the Church was really in the utmost Danger; and when it was really as safe as ever it has been since Queen Bess's Days, we find him Voting on the side of Sacheverel.

The Speaker told Sir Thomas Powis and Sir Bartholomew Shower, the House wou'd not allow them to question the Power of Parliaments, to pass Bills of Attainder when they judge it requisite, of which this House, continues he, are more proper Judges than any private Person. Here the Speaker, Mr. Foley determin'd the Matter in favour of the Bill for the House being the properest Judges did so determine it, and Sir Thomas Powis tho' one cou'd not expect he would speak his Mind, his Client being at the Bar, yet express'd himself much to the same purpose. *I shall very carefully, says he, observe the Directions you gave us, which I hope we should not have stood in need of, but have behav'd ourselves as becomes us, and not have drawn in question the Power of Parliaments; I never had a Thought of doing such a thing. But the Faction without Doors did loudly exclaim against that unquestionable Power of Parliaments in this Case, as I doubt not, if it made for them they would have clamour'd as much for it, all their Arguments being Temporary, and they can change them and their Principles as easily as shift their Cloaths*

The Council on both sides being heard ; as to the hearing of the King's Evidence, Sir *John Fenwick* and the Council were order'd to withdraw, and it was debated in the House. In this Debate the Gentlemen were warm on both sides: *James Mountague* Esq; said the truth of the Matter in the beginning of his Speech. The Consequence of allowing the King's Evidence was the allowing of *Fenwick's*, and his Council pretending they had no Notice of Evidence to be heard, nor were prepar'd with theirs, *Fenwick* desires Time to get them ready. I am not surpriz'd, says Mr. *Mountague*, to hear Sir *John Fenwick* desire Time, for giving him Time is giving him Life; nor for his Council to tell you his Witnesses are not ready, 'Tis a Common Excuse. But as Common as 'twas we find Sir *Francis Winnington*, *Robert Price* Esq; *Nicholas Hooper* Esq; Mr. *Brotherton*, Mr. *Finch*, and Mr. *Simon Harcourt*, pleading earnestly for the Prisoner at the Bar, and asserting Things quite contrary to what was asserted in the same Debate by Sir *Thomas Trevor*, Sir *John Hawles*, Mr. *Sloan*, *William Comper* Esq; Serjeant *Whittaker*, and Mr. *Mountague*, all Gentlemen of the Long Robe, and sure of equal Reputation with the best of their Antagonists: So that 'tis plain the Matter of Law was not in the Question so much as the Matter of Party; and their Inveteracy to the Administration we may see by what Mr. *Simon Harcourt* said at the opening of his Speech: *If Sir John Fenwick's Business must be done, I hope we shall do it like rational Men*; insinuating plainly enough, that

that the Court was resolv'd to have that Man's Blood, right or wrong, Reason or not Reason: Why else must his Business be done? Why else did he hope, and not depend upon its being done with Reason? His doing it with Reason was proceeding according to the Forms of Westminster Hall, which if the Government could have proceeded upon at that time, what need of a Bill of Attainder. This he and all that spoke on his side knew as well as that Friend was hang'd and Goodman run away, and the Lord Cutts said in two or three Words all that could be said to the Point: *I conceive it a thing to be wish'd that every Gentleman that speaks upon this Occasion, would apply himself more closely to Substance, and less to Forms: I mean to Forms consider'd merely as Forms, for it ought to be true Reason that is convincing to you: And you ought not to tie yourselves to any Forms on this Occasion, but such as are grounded upon Reason, and really I have not heard any thing that fell from any Gentleman, that shews his doubt of the Nature and aggravating Circumstances of the Crime of the Prisoner; which is the whole of the Argument then in Debate. The House by voting the Bill declar'd themselves Judges. Mr. Foley, the Speaker explain'd the Sense of the House to the Prisoner's Council: They agreed to that Explanation, by which the House declar'd they were not to be bound by the common Rules of Westminster Hall, and yet all the Speech-makers on Fenwick's side are perpetually labouring to bind the House by them; which had there been*

been any thing in it, would have made the Bill itself *Impertinent*.

Sir Edward Seymour, whose Learning and Integrity were an Ornament to his Zeal, has a rare Pun in this Debate, which, I doubt not, gain'd him the Applause of the ruddy *West-Saxons*. If there had been no more than the *Enacting Clause*, it would have done Sir John Fenwick's Business with a Witness, or rather without a Witness, which is the smartest Thing that came from him in this Debate, wherein some Gentlemen insisted mightily on the Hardship of Sir John Fenwick's Case: To which other Gentlemen made suitable Replies, but none came closer to the Point than Mr. Boscawen. The great Thing, says he, some Gentlemen say we must take Care of, is the Blood of a Man? Does any one say he is Innocent? No; but we must have some way or another that he must not be brought to his Tryal. I desire, as ENGLISH MEN you will not only take Care of the Life of one Man, but of the Life of the King; of the Lives of our Wives and Children, and all our Families, What will they say without Doors? Mr. Robert Harley keeps Company with his Friend Mr. Simon Harcourt. The latter says his Business must be done, and the former keeps Touch, Let him deserve never so much, says Mr. Harley, yet he does not deserve to dye unjustly by your Hands. Not a Soul there but believ'd him Guilty of High-Treason, and that the Parliament had the Power of Attainting him for it. How then could he dye by that Power unjustly, when the Treason against the King and Kingdom was

was so clear against him, that not one Member in the Five hundred and thirteen had the least doubt of his Guilt. But what's the Life of King *William* to Sir *John Fenwick*, in the Judgment of Mr. *Harcourt* and Mr. *Harley*? Nor were either of them less an Advocate for the *Doctor* than they were for the *Knight*, the end of which was they were both Lorded, and may be both _____, but that will be no *Anecdote*. Their History can never be kept secret long.

The Question having been debated till very late at Night^t was at last carry'd in the Affirmative, *That the King's Witnesses should be heard to the Allegations in the Bill*. The Party did not Care to have the Conspiracy laid open. They did not so much value *Fenwick*, as the carrying a Cause and animating the Faction, dispirited by hanging up so many *Staunch* Men. I chuse to make use of the Term *Staunch*, because I find it us'd by Sir *Henry Gould* in *Fenwick's* Case. When the *Knight* was taken, he wrote a Letter to his Wife, which was intercepted, and Sir *Henry* refers to it, when he charges him as so conscious of his own Guilt as to despair of getting off, unless two or three *Staunch* Persons could be got to starve the *Jury*.

The first Evidence for the Crown was Captain *Porter*, who prov'd *Fenwick's* assisting at two Meetings to send *Charnock* to France for a French Army of 10000 Horse and Foot. My Lord *Montgomery*, or if it must be so, his Grace the Duke of *Powis*, was at one, if not both of those *Treasonable* Meetings

Meetings. *Porter* prov'd also that *Clancy* the *Irish* Peruke-maker in *Covent-Garden* tamper'd with him to withdraw as *Goodman* had done, paying him Three hundred Guineas down in Hand, and promising him a Bill for Three hundred more, and Three hundred Pound a Year to be paid him in *France*; One hundred Pound of which was to come from the Lord *Bruce's* Father, the Lord *Aylesbury*; One hundred Pound a Year from his Grace above-mention'd, the Lord *Montgomery*, and One hundred a Year from Sir *John Fenwick*. That my Lady *Fenwick* had been with him about it, and he had seen a Letter from her Husband to King *James*, wherein Sir *John* desir'd that King to pardon *Porter*, because his running away was to save my Lord *Aylesbury* and the Lord *Montgomery*.

One *Roe* also prov'd, that he had been tamper'd with to get *Goodman* out of the way, by *Deighton*, who was then at the Bar of the House as Sir *John Fenwick's* Solicitor, and the Record of *Clancy's* Conviction for tampering with *Porter* was read to the House. So careful were they to have every thing appear as clear as the Sun at Noon Day.

Then the Council on the Crown side offer'd to read *Goodman's* Examination before Mr. *Vernon*, but a great Cry was made against that by Sir *John Fenwick's* Friends, under pretence, that Depositions were never heard in Evidence, which was answer'd so plainly by Mr. *Sloane*, that I wonder those who oppos'd him could ever look in his Face afterwards, and pretend to have less

less Assurance. Mr. Manley said, *Every one that had look'd into the A. B. C. of the Law, knew that Examinations before Justices were never read. To which Mr Sloane reply'd, I believe I may save a great deal of Trouble in this Matter; for those Gentlemen at the Bar, that made the Objection, speak without Book, but I speak by Book (having my Lord Chief Justice Hales's Plea of the Crown in his Hand.) No less a Man than my Lord Chief Justice Hales, I think he was past his A. B. C. of the Law, I know not how far this Gentleman is advanc'd, in his Pleas of the Crown in that Part, where he shews what is Evidence to the Petit Jury. He says, first. By the Statute 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, c. 13. 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, c. 12. The Justice hath Power to examine the Offender and Informer, and so he goes on in several Particulars. And then 5. he says, These Examinations, if the Party be dead or absent, may be taken in Evidence.*

'Twas not pretended that such an Examination was of equal Authority with *viva voce*; but the House of Commons being Judges of the Fact, and to give Judgment according to their Consciences, they who were not y'd down by Rules, ought surely to hear what wou'd be allow'd to a common Jury, to guide their Judgment in the like Case, according to Judge Hales; yet did the Opponents mightily insist on *Westminster Hall*, the *Old Bailey*, &c. where, because the thing was not commonly practis'd, therefore must not the House hear an Information of one absent Witness, prov'd to be withdrawn on purpose, to prevent his giving

giving Evidence *viva voce*. In this Debate *Castor* and *Pollux* appear again, Mr. *Robert Harley* and Mr *Simon Harcourt*, both on the same Side as usual, till lately, very lately. Mr. *Simon Harcourt* says, *If you were to pick all the Absurdities out of the Tryals in the late Reigns, you could not pick out more than have been endeavour'd by the King's Council to be impos'd upon you this Day*; intimating, that *Jefferies* had as much Power as the House of Commons, and that the Legislature was as much bound by Rules as that infamous Judge shou'd have been. Good God! how had that been answer'd over and over again, yet have these Advocates for *Fenwick* and *Sacheverel* nothing else to make a Noise with. Next comes Mr. *Robert Harley*, and he truly crys out, *Here it is that the Boundaries are establish'd for the Lives and Liberties of Mankind, and this is an Observation that is found in History, that those that have broke their Bounds down, it hath return'd upon them to their Prejudice. Let us not out of Hatred or Zeal against a Guilty Man, lose our own Innocence.* So delicate was this Gentleman's Conscience in the Case of Sir *John Fenwick*; so harden'd in that of the Butchery of the *Catalans*, when he was at the head of our unhappy Affairs. At last the Question was put, Whether *Goodman's* Information shou'd be read or not, and the House divided,

Yeas 218, *Noes* 145.

The

The substance of *Goodman's* Information about the *Invasion* and *Assassination* Plots :

That he and *Porter* had held a Correspondence with *Parker*, while he was in *England*, and after he was in *France*, by the means of *Charnock* : That he had a Commission for a Troop of Horse from King *James*, as had also *Capt. Porter*, *Sir William Parkyns*, *Mr Charnock*, *Sir H. S.* and *Mr H.* That he and *Porter* took a House in the *Chase*, for the Convenience of Stabling for their Horses, and for their private Cabals : That *Charnock* told him the Sign for the *Invasion* would be when the *Toulon* Fleet should joyn the *Brest* Fleet : That *Porter* had sent Arms into *Lancashire* : That *Charnock* came to him and said, he had something to propose to him, desiring him to go along with him, which he did, and was carry'd by him to one *Mr. W —*, who said he expected a Commission from King *James* to seize King *William* : That he had several meetings with *Charnock*, *Porter*, and others : That the subject of their Discourse was about the surprizing the King as he came from *Richmond*, and after several ways propos'd to that purpose, he particularly ask'd, Suppose the King were in our Power, what then ? for we ought to have Regard to some end or other in such an Undertaking, and I was not willing to offer any thing to his Person. *Mr. W —* said, " We might have a Coach and convey him away. Adding, " He was sure of a Fort to be deliver'd to him. " *Goodman* thought he mention'd *Deal*.

This

This Matter hung some Time for want of King *James's* Commission to seize King *William*, and *Goodman* demanded to have a Pardon in Case of an Accident, which not coming, the Assassination Plot was a while suspended. In the mean Time there were several Meetings about sending over Proposals to King *James*, at which Sir *John Fenwick* assisted; so also did the Lord *Aylesbury*, who had been himself in *France*. Sir *John Fenwick*, as *Goodman* confess'd, us'd to send over a List of the Forces, how they were Quarter'd, what were in Garrison, and what otherwise dispos'd of. But tho' Sir *John's* Zeal was very good, yet his Care it seems was deficient, for his Lists being imperfect, the Assassin *Parker* wrote to *Goodman* to try to get a true One, which the latter did, by bribing *Gibson*, a Clerk in the Commissary Office, who gave him Lists frequently, and *Goodman* sent them to *France*.

Having mention'd the Villain *Parker* in *Granvil's* Plot, as well as this, 'tis necessary to take Notice, that he had been taken Prisoner, as will be related more particularly hereafter, and sent to the *Tower*, where a Person came to him, and told him, he had brought him Liberty, but he must have 200 l. *Parker* reply'd he shou'd have 300 l. and accordingly he had it, as himself told *Goodman*. Thus we see in what Hands King *William's* Affairs were, and how he was betray'd on every side. It appears plainly that Sir *John Fenwick* was a chief Conspirator for an Invasion; and it will appear as plainly presently, that he knew of the Assassination Conspiracy.

H

He

He took upon him, as *Goodman* swears, to Command as Major-General, the Forces that were to joyn King *James* on his Landing. He also assur'd *Goodman*, most of the Lord *Oxford's* Regiment wou'd go in to him, and advis'd not to buy Horses, but to get Information of the best that were in the *London* Stables, and seize them upon Occasion. *Goodman's* Affidavit was made before *James Vernon*, Esq; and it was not only read in the House, but by the Grand Jury, who found the Bill. Sir *Bartholomew Gracedieu*, and Mr. *Mead* gave Evidence, that his Confession was the same before them, as in the Information, and that Sir *John Fenwick* particularly promis'd there shou'd be 2000 Horse ready to joyn the *French* Army.

The next Thing produc'd to give Satisfaction to the House of *Fenwick's* Guilt, which in Truth not a Member in his Wits doubted, was the Evidence that had been given at *Cooke's* Tryal, which concern'd *Fenwick*. Every Step of this Proceeding was debated, and the Clamour against it the same, that 'twas not agreeable to the Rules in *Westminster-Hall*. This had been answer'd again and again, and was monstrously absurd, for the Bill having been agreed to by the House, 'twas consequently the Act of the whole House, who had by bringing of it determin'd that they were not bound by the Practice of inferior Courts. True, the Record of *Cooke's* Conviction wou'd not have been admitted in *Westminster-Hall*, but the House had declar'd they wanted not Directions as to their Power of Attainder, nor the Method of Prosecuting it,

it, only requir'd all reasonable, as well as legal Proof of the Fact, to satisfy their Consciences. But as the Party had done in all the preceeding Parts of the *Hearing*; so did they now contend strenuously that Cooke's Record should not be read, that the House might not have farther Light in a Conspiracy which had indeed been prov'd as evidently as Evidence cou'd make; and Sir John Fenwick's share in it not doubted.

Colonel Granville, and Sir Richard Temple, were the first that oppos'd the Hearing Cooke's Record; and in Answer to the latter, Sir Thomas Monpesson said, *This Gentleman complains this was never done, when the Duke of Monmouth was impeach'd, the Bill was read Three Times in one Day, and Sir John Fenwick mov'd for the Impeachment.* After Collonel Granville, we find these Three worthy Gentlemen labouring to prevent the Reading any Thing more against Fenwick, Mr. Robert Harley, Mr. John How, and Mr. Simon Harcourt. How sweetly did they accord Twenty Years ago? Quoth Mr. Harcourt, *'Tis not in the Power of Men to offer any Thing more absurd; If there be Books, Practice, Precedent, or any Thing to justify it, I will sit down.* Mr. Harcourt knew full well that it was not offer'd as Evidence, but as Mr. Sloan said, "This is no sort of Evidence against Sir John Fenwick, but our Question is about a Witness that is withdrawn, and to know what he said, and how he was believ'd when he was here; how he is gone we have seen already." This the Leaders of the Party were as well satisfy'd of, as of Fenwick's Guilt, but Oppo-

fition to King *William's* Ministers and Council must be made at the expence of Modesty and Reason. My Lord *Cutts* said very well in Answer to Mr. *Harcourt*, *If the worthy Gentleman that spoke last had made out all his Propositions with clearness, equal to the Assurance with which he reported them, they wou'd have more Weight.*

But alas! Assurance was the only Support of the Party, and so it continu'd till one of these Three Friends of *Fenwick's* got the Treasurer's Staff, and the other the Purse, of *Great Britain*. Will it be believ'd by *Posterity*, that Men shou'd advance themselves in a *Revolution* Government, by *Principles* and *Practices* directly contrary to it, notwithstanding those *Practices* and *Principles* were known to be the effect of Prejudice and Resentment, and not of Conviction and Opinion? Cou'd such Men as these shoot themselves up from the meanest Earth, to have their Heads in the Clouds, by the very Methods that in a severe as well as just Government, wou'd have kept 'em in the dirt for ever? From what Obscurity did they rise? By what Means, and how short, but how baleful was the blaze of these State Meteors?

If it had not been for the sake of these Reflections, and the Pursuit of these Men, from their *Rising to their Falling*, I had never troubled my self with the *Secret History of Europe*, and therefore do I claim the Privilege of Digression.

Against the admitting of *Cooke's* Record to be read, spoke further, Mr. *Pelham*, Mr. *Price*,

Part IV. of EUROPE.

101

Price, Sir Christopher Musgrave, Sir William Williams, Sir Marmaduke Wyvell, and even Sir Thomas Trevor, then Attorney-General, and Mr. Edward Harley, Brother to Mr. Robert, Mr. Edward saying, *He wou'd not have it said, that under the Reign of King William any Thing was done contrary to the Law and Constitution of the Nation.* For it, Sir John Haules, Solicitor-General, Dr. Oxenden, &c. The Question about reading the Records being put, the House divided,

Yeas 181, No's 110.

The Record being read, and a Debate arising about examining Witnesses as to what Goodman swore at the Tryal of Cooke, the old Story of *Westminster-Hall* is trump'd up again by Mr. Manley, Son of honest Major Manley, the old Round-head; Mr. Robert Harley, Son of Sir Edward Harley, another old Round-head; by Mr. Gery, Mr. John How, Sir Christopher Musgrave, Sir Godfrey Copely; but Mr. Sloan, Sir Thomas Littleton, John Smith, Esq; and Sir Henry Duttoncolt, having answer'd their Tautological Arguments, it was carry'd to examine those Witnesses.

Yeas 180, No's 102.

And then Mr. Collins, and Mr. Cooper, two of the Jury, who convicted Cooke, gave the House full Information that Goodman swore at the Tryal of Cooke, that Sir John Fenwick, the Earl of Aylesbury, and others, were at the Meeting in *Leaden-Hall-Street*,

H 3

when

when 'twas agreed to send *Charnock* to *France*, to invite King *James* to bring over a French Popish Army to invade and enslave us. This Goodman swore then *vera voce*; this Goodman gave Evidence of in his Information before Secretary *Vernon*. Sir *John Fenwick's* Agents, with his privacy, had convey'd away Goodman, to prevent his giving the like Evidence in an inferior Court, and yet the House of Commons, forsooth, must not think *Fenwick* a Traytor, because he has himself so notoriously contriv'd to prevent *Westminster-Hall* Proof of it.

Now comes an Evidence under Sir *John Fenwick's* own Hand, a Letter he wrote to his Wife from *Rumney*, where he writ it after he was seiz'd. He gave it to one *Webber*, a kind of Solicitor, who ran away with him; this *Webber* had an Acquaintance in the Town, one *Fowler*, whom he sent for to put the Letter into the Post-house; it was directed to Mrs. *Francis Farrer*, at the Countess of *Carlisle's* in *Soho-Square*. *Webber* desir'd *Fowler* to come to him again when he had deliver'd it; but *Fowler* being sent for by Mr. *Mascul*, a Justice of Peace at *Rumney*, the Justice oblig'd him to confess he had such a Letter, and so deliver'd it to him, who upon opening, sent it to the Secretary of State; and it is as follows:

WHAT Pleased is at last happened; had I gone alone I had done it, but the other was betray'd from London. It is God's Will, so we must submit. I know nothing can save my Life but my Lord *Carlisle's* going over to him, back'd

back'd by the rest of the Family of the Howards, to beg it, and offering that I will live abroad all his Time, where I cannot hurt him; and that I will never draw Sword against him. I must leave it to you what else to say; all Friends must be made; my Lord Devonshire may perhaps, by my Lady; my Lord Godolphin, my Lord Pembroke, by my Lady Montgomery; Mr. Nelson by the Bishop of Canterbury; my Lord Arran might engage his Brother Selkirk to use his Interest with Kepple. I believe, if my Lord Carlisle wou'd go, it were best before my Tryal, or else they may cut me short for want of Time; if he can prevail with him for a Pardon, he will procure it as well before my Trial as after, or at least he may prevail for a Reprieve, till some can come over to him. My Lord also will have an Opportunity to engage Benting, and get my Lord of Essex to join with him. I cannot think what else to say, but the great Care must be the Jury; if Two or Three cou'd be got that wou'd starve the rest; that or nothing can save me; Money I know wou'd do it; but alas! that is not to be had, nor shall I get enough for Counsel. I beg of you not to think of being shut up with me, I know it will kill you; and besides, I have no such Friend as you to take care of my Business; tho' it would be the Comfort of my Life, the little Time it lasts, to have you with me. And I have this only Comfort now left, that my Death will make you easy. My dearest Life, grieve not for me, but resign me to God Almighty's Will. You will hear as soon as they bring me to Town, where they put me, and then I would have a Servant, or somebody with me, and my Night-Gown. I am in a sad Case with Riding; that Day I parted with you I rid above a Hun-

dred Miles, but be not concern'd, my Health is well enough. I am interrupted, so can say no more now. Engage Sir John Lowther, the new Lord, who hath more Interest than any Body; let my Lord Scarfdal engage Jermaine to engage Overkirke for me; speak to my Lord Arlington. If my Tryal could be put off till the King comes back, there wou'd be more Opportunity to sollicite him.

If there wanted these many undoubted Proofs of this Man's Guilt, here wou'd be enough to convince his best Friends that *nothing* should save him, for he said *nothing* could, which imply'd, that he by his own Judgment deserv'd to die, by the Laws of our Constitution.

After the Reading this Letter, Sir Thomas Powys, and Sir Bartholomew Shower, desir'd Time till the next Day, to make Observations on what had been said against their Client, which was granted, but they were order'd to examine their Witnesses for him, if they had any, that Night. In answer to which, Sir Thomas Powys frankly own'd, that truly *they had no Witnesses* at all; what Service Webber cou'd have done, as little as it might be, was prevented by his scampering; but in the Time of the late *Staff* and the *Purse*, he came Abroad again, was cherish'd, and employ'd by Statesmen as a fit Tool to finish the hopeful Work he was then beginning.

The Proof of Sir John Fenwick's Guilt being thus plainly made out, by the living and present Testimony of Captain Porter, by the Information of Goodman sworn before Secretary

tary *Vernon*; by *Goodman's* Evidence at *Cook's* Tryal; by his own Confession in his Letter to his Wife, there remain'd not the least room for doubt of his being Guilty of a Hellish Conspiracy, to betray his Country to the *French*, and bring in *King James* with a *French* Army. It having been prov'd, that, by his tampering with *Porter*, and bribing *Goodman*, by giving false Informations to delay his Tryal, he got Time to prevent his Prosecution in the ordinary Way, and was so great a Criminal as to make this extraordinary one of an Attainder necessary; what pretence cou'd there be for any of the *Tory* Party to oppose the passing the Bill, unless it was to shew the little Regard they had for the Safety of *King William's* Person, and the Preservation of our Liberties and Religion? For that the Parliament had a Power to attain him, we shall see by the Confession even of *Fenwick's* Friends, and even of *Mr. Harley*, one of the chief of 'em, in the Debate before the Bill was committed, which being granted, no Man of common Sense and common Honesty, cou'd call in Question the Justice of the Nation in dealing thus with so incorrigible a Traytor:

The main Objection is the Trying him in so uncommon a manner, when he might have been try'd at the *Old Bailey*; which *Mr. Vernon* answer'd, by proving *Fenwick's* Prevarications were the only Reason that he had not the Tryal and Fate of *Friend*, without giving the Parliament so much trouble. What *Mr. Vernon* says on this Occasion, contains so many curious Things, that I shall give his Speech entire,

entire, as he spoke it to the House of Commons before the Bill was read the second Time, in Presence of the Council on both sides, and the Prisoner, Sir *John Fenwick*.

‘ I F I understand the Council for the Bill aright, said Mr. *Vernon*, That which they did appeal to me for, was about the protracting of Sir *John Fenwick*’s Tryal, and upon what pretence it was. The Account, Sir, that I can give of it, is this, That Sir *John Fenwick*’s Tryal was put off, will appear best from the frequent Adjournments of the Sessions at the *Old Baily*, for six or seven Weeks together; for when Sir *John Fenwick* was committed to the *Tower*, which was, as I take it, on the 10th of *June*, there was, I believe, a Sessions to be held soon after; for as I remember it, the first Application that my Lady *Mary Fenwick* made for putting off Sir *John Fenwick*’s Tryal, was upon the 30th of *June*, and the Petition was, that he might have some Friends come to him, to advise him how to make his Application to the King. On the 30th of *June*, or about that Time, my Lady *Mary Fenwick* did first propose, that somebody should be sent over from Sir *John Fenwick* to the King, upon some Matters of importance, but did not declare what they were, but only that she was told there were such Matters, and she had a proper Person to send, and would acquaint the Lords Justices with the Man, if he might have leave to go. But afterwards my Lady *Fenwick* said she could not provide a Person

so soon. And I think the 2d of July she came and offer'd to go her self; and said, *if it was not as much for the King's Service, as Sir John Fenwick's Benefit, she would not undertake the Journey.* She had leave to go, and would have Capitulated, that the Trial should be put off till she return'd; but the Lords said, when she would return would depend upon her Pleasure; but they would write to the King at the same Time, and give Notice of her Intention; and that the Trial should not go on till they had an Answer to their own Letter. There was a Passage order'd her in the Royal Transport Ship, then going to *Holland*, and my Lady *Mary Fenwick* desired to speak with Sir *John* in private, in order to her Journey. The same Night she came back again; and said, *she had considered of it and would not go,* and several Reasons she gave for it. Upon the 7th of July there was a noble Lord that was in the Commission for the Administration of Government, said he had an Application made to him from another noble Peer, my Lord *Carlisle*, who desired that he would go to Sir *John Fenwick*, for he had been very earnest to speak with him. That noble Lord did acquaint the rest of the Lords Justices with it, who acquiesc'd in what he thought fit to do in the Matter.

He went the same Day to Sir *John Fenwick*, and the next Day the Lords Justices meeting again, he told them he had been with Sir *John Fenwick*, and what Sir *John Fenwick* had told him he had sent to the King, for he did not allow it should be otherwise

‘ therwise communicated. My Lords then
‘ thought it was very fit to stay for the King’s
‘ Answer. This was the 7th of *July*, and by
‘ what Accident I know not, no manner of
‘ Account came till the 7th of *August*, that
‘ the Letter was receiv’d, but the 7th of *Au-*
‘ *gust* the Letter was acknowledg’d to be re-
‘ ceiv’d, and the Answer that then came to
‘ it was, that the King had not received any
‘ great Satisfaction by the Message; I know
‘ not what it was, but that Sir *John Fenwick*
‘ should be tryed; but withal, that noble
‘ Lord acquainted the Lords Justices, that
‘ the King was pleased to write to him, that
‘ what Sir *John Fenwick* had to say should be
‘ sent to him in writing. It happen’d at that
‘ Time, that the Judges were upon their
‘ Circuits, and there being the King’s Di-
‘ rections to receive what Sir *John Fenwick*
‘ had to say in writing, that noble Lord
‘ did undertake to go again to Sir *John Fen-*
‘ *wick*, and I suppose he did receive some-
‘ thing from Sir *John Fenwick*, which he sent
‘ to the King. When the Answer to that
‘ came, it was *September*, and that noble Lord
‘ was at the *Bath*, and so it required a little
‘ Time to hear from him. Then it appear’d
‘ that the King’s Direction was, that what
‘ Sir *John Fenwick* had sent to the King he
‘ should prove it, and he should likewise
‘ shew his Ingenuity in confessing what he
‘ knew of any other Designs against the Go-
‘ vernment. On the 10th of *September*, as
‘ I take, I was directed to go to the *Tower*,
‘ and to acquaint him with the Message
‘ from the Lords Justices. Sir *John Fenwick*’s
‘ Answer,

Answer was, that he had no more to say, or Words to that Effect, and he must prepare for his Defence as well as he could; but if he could speak with that noble Lord, he should be glad to do it; but he was not come from the *Bath*, and Direction was then given for his Tryal again. In the mean Time, that Noble Lord came to Town, and he went to Sir *John Fenwick*, and brought an Account from him, that Sir *John Fenwick* would prove to the King, and make out what he had said, and was ready to give the Lords Justices satisfaction. Upon that I was sent to Sir *John Fenwick*, and I carry'd the Message in Writing, which you may see when you please, and it was to ask him, whether he was willing to make out by Proof what he had already said to the King; and whether he was ready in compliance with the King's Directions, to give the Lords an Account of what he knew of any Design against the Government? I carry'd Sir *John Fenwick* this Message, and he return'd an Answer in Writing, that he was ready to make out to the King what he had said, and would acquaint the Lords with all the Matter that he had not observed to the King. His Arraignment was then to have come on the 17th, but he did dictate a Paper which was brought to the Lords, which they thought fit to be sent to the King, and the Tryal was put off as to that Time, and before an Answer from the King came, it was, I believe, the beginning of *October*.

The

The Informations he gave have been talk'd of before, and were a high Aggravation of his Crime, being a Treasonable but false Charge against his Majesty's best Friends, and most faithful and able Servants, with a Design to create Suspensions of 'em, and deprive the Government of the Benefit of their Services. What was the Contents of his Informations, has been hinted already, and will further appear by the Speeches of several Members of the House of Commons, in behalf of themselves or their Friends, immediately after the Evidence against Fenwick had been heard. It will be proper to repeat some of 'em verbatim, such especially as give us a clearer Light in the Matter.

Admiral Russell. I think this may be a proper time to ask Questions; if so, I think my self enough concern'd to trouble you with one or two. I think in the Paper that hath been read, I am mention'd twice: these are the Questions I desire to have asked. What Proof he hath of this? Whether ever he saw; and what Proof he has, that I sent Captain Lloyd over? And that I gave him a List of the Ships? And that I said we could not fit out 30 Ships in May? And whether or no since this Revolution, he hath had any Conversation with me?

Coll. Crawford. What that honourable Person says, calls me up, my Name is mention'd in Sir John Fenwick's Paper, I desire you would ask him why he mention'd me in his Paper, as he hath done? And that you wou'd require him to make Proof of what he says in relation to me.

Coll. Godfrey. I desire some Questions may be ask'd him, in relation to a noble Lord, my Lord

Lord Marlborough, if he be guilty, I wou'd have it known; and I wou'd as willingly have it known, if he be innocent, as I believe it will so appear. I wou'd have him ask'd, Whether since the Beginning of this War, or from the time of the King's Landing, Sir John Fenwick did ever speak to him in publick or private, or ever did write to him, or receive any Message by Word of Mouth, or Letter, from my Lord Marlborough? He says, that some Service he had promis'd King James, which inclin'd him to promise that noble Lord his Pardon. I wou'd know what that Service was? And in relation to his sending Lloyd into France; whether he can by any body else, make that appear?

Coll. Crawford. That Gentleman hath put me in mind of one short Question, I desire it may be ask'd him, Whether ever he conversed or spake with me in his Life?

Mr. Bridges. Whether Sir John Fenwick hath any Body but himself to support the Hearsay he hath given an Account of, and I desire a Question may be ask'd him on behalf of the Duke of Shrewsbury, what Proof he has, that the Duke of Shrewsbury came into the Office of Secretary of State again, by the Operation and Consent of King James.

Mr. Vernon. I desire a Question may be ask'd, previous to that, because 'tis so in time; how he knows that noble Lord was in Treaty with King James, before he went out of the Secretary's Office, when he was first there?

Coll. Granville. I desire he may be ask'd what Proof he can give, that my Lord of Bath was to betray Plymouth into the Hands of King James, or the King of France, and whatever else

else my Father is accus'd of in that Paper.

Here Mr. Robert Harley interrupted the Gentlemen, who spoke in Behalf of themselves or their Friends; and Mr. John How gave the House to understand, he look'd on these Requests as Grimace, giving a broad hint, that he believ'd the Informations true, which was doubtless no more in his Thoughts, than ever it was in mine, that himself was sincere and disinterested. *It may be possible,* says he, *Sir John Fenwick may never have seen any of the Persons named in the Paper, and yet all in his Paper be true, and this Matter is pretended to be much desired.* It was very obvious to any intelligent Creature, that the whole Information was an Artifice, to delay Time, and perplex the Government; Sir John Fenwick's Answers (when he was examin'd as to this Matter) shew it; yet the Party were loath to loose so fair an Opportunity to blacken the King's faithful Counsellors, and therefore many Whispers went about to the Validity of this Evidence. Nay, afterwards, when Sir John Macklean was in the Tower, this wicked Business was reviv'd. 'Twas given out, Sir John declar'd the Ministers at St. Germans, and some at St. James's, were agreed, that King James himself had come into a Scheme of compounding that, truly, King William was to reign as long as he liv'd, and then his Father-in-Law, if he surviv'd him, to be his Successor, as well as Predecessor, if not, his Brother-in-Law, James of St. George; that Pardons had been, or were to be interchanged, and the Names of Jacobite and Williamite to be no more heard of. 'Twas said this Pro-

ject was the Remains of the *Fenwick* Scheme, and abundance of such incoherent incredible Fiction, invented with the same traiterous Intent, to create Jealousies in the Minds of the King and his People, of his truest and greatest Friends and Servants. It highly concern'd the Gentlemen accus'd to clear themselves of so villainous a Scandal cast on them by the *Faction*. Yet what a Turn does the Malice of Mr. *John How* give to the Care they took to have their Innocence vindicated by themselves, their Relations and Friends. The next Member that made a Motion in this Business was,

Mr. Boscawen, *Who desir'd he might be ask'd what Proof he had, of what was said in that Paper concerning my Lord Godolphin.*

Lord Coningsby. *I do intend to take care of my Lord Godolphin. There is a hard Reflection upon that noble Person; but under Favour you must, I think, let Sir John Fenwick know you have such a Paper, and then ask him in general, what Proof he hath to the Particulars of that Paper? And then you will do Injustice to no Body.*

Sir Ralph Delaval. *I find I am named in this Paper, that Sir John Fenwick hath given. I desire that Part that relates to me may be read to him, and that he may give a Reason why he hath said so of me and Mr. Killigrew.*

Lord Walden. *There is another mentioned, and that is Commissary Crawford, I desire he may be ask'd what Proof he hath, that he gave Mr. — a List of the Army? These were all the Gentlemen that desir'd Questions to be put to him, in behalf of themselves or their Friends. What my Lord Cutts said*
I upon

upon this Head, shews the Sense of all wise and good Men. *I think there is no one Person, says his Lordship, that he hath named, but is eminently known, or believ'd to be in the Interest of the Government, and none but what are in some Post of Trust and Employment; then I think it highly necessary to know how it comes to pass, that he hath had so much Conversation with Persons of that Character, and none with those People that he hath been seen daily to converse with; and if he hath, why he hath not discover'd them as he hath done the rest.* Sticklers on Sir John's Side in this Debate also, were Mr. Harley, and Mr. Manley; but it appear'd evidently to be a false Libel, contriv'd to raise Suspensions of the Fidelity of his Majesty's most faithful Subjects. Sir John was order'd to be call'd in, to be examin'd as to that Paper; the honourable Mr. Mountague, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, closes his Speech, with these remarkable Expressions, *I take these Matters to be false, but I shall have some Questions to ask him, to what I believe will prove true.* I dare not presume to explain what that great Man meant, doubtless it had relation to the Conspiracy against the Reputation of so many illustrious Counsellors and Ministers, which might be well deem'd an *After-Plot*, to play at a small Game, when the great one was lost, and must necessarily aggravate Sir John Fenwick's Guilt. When he was come into the House, to be examin'd as to this Paper, the Speaker, Paul Foley, Esq. ask'd him in the first Place, *What he knew of my Lord Godolphin?* He also recommended to him to deal candidly with them in that Matter

Matter. To which he answer'd;

Sir John Fenwick. I am under a double Prosecution, Sir, for my Life. I know not but what I say, may turn to my own Prejudice. I hope this House will not think it Obstinacy in me; and since this House hath done me the Honour to hear me by my Council, I hope they will please to consider what they have said.

What Evasion was this? Cou'd his saying what he knew of my Lord Godolphin, affect him, as to his conspiring a French Invasion? The Speaker press'd him again to deal candidly, but he is in the same Tone still.

Sir John Fenwick. Sir, I am under Prosecution for my Life; and I hope the House will please to consider, that I know not what Inconvenience may come upon me by it, and I hope the House will excuse me; for I do it not out of Obstinacy, but for my own Preservation.

The Speaker continu'd to press him to deserve the Favour of the House, by ingenuous Answers to the several Questions he should put to him, with reference to the Person he had accus'd; and is it to be imagin'd he had so much Tendernefs forever a one of 'em, as to venture his undergoing the Displeasure of the House, rather than discover what he knew of their Treachery to King William? No certainly, he knew nothing, he was not obstinate, as he says, but he was false, and wou'd have been perjur'd, had he sworn to his Paper. Had he known any thing against 'em, he wou'd have told it fast enough, for it cou'd have done him no harm; on the contrary, the Merit of so important a Discovery wou'd have been more serviceable to him,

than all the Friends he or his Wife cou'd make: being press'd a third time, he reply'd;

Sir John Fenwick. I hope the House will not put upon me any thing that may hurt my self. I shou'd be sorry to incur the Displeasure of this House, but I hope they will consider my Condition; and I am sure the Justice and Honour of the House is such, that they will not press any Man to do any thing that may hurt himself. Upon this he was order'd to withdraw, and the Bill had a second Reading. After which a long Debate succeeded, wherein Fenwick's Friends insisted mightily on the Usages of inferior Courts, they had nothing else for it; and the Reader will observe in the Sequel, that Argument was given up by those who were most in Sir John Fenwick's Interest. There was not one Event in all King William's Reign, which the Disaffected endeavour'd to turn more to his Prejudice, than this of Fenwick's Trial, which they have ever since done their utmost, to represent as an arbitrary, illegal Act, tho' both his own Council allow'd the Parliament had the Power, which they then exerted. Sir Thomas Powys was not content with what he had said at the Beginning of the Trial, to the Authority of Parliaments in Attainders, he pushes the Matter more home at the Close of it. I do not speak, says he, in opposition to the Power of Parliaments, for I know very well, that our Lives and Estates, and all that we have, are subject to Acts of Parliament. And again, I do agree there are Cases where Persons have been attainted, without being admitted to be

tried.

tryed. And then he goes on to instance them, as the Gentlemen for the Bill did very often. And Sir Bartholomew Shower adds, *No Question, but in all Governments there is some supream Power, and by our Constitution 'tis lodg'd in King, Lords and Commons.* So that the Matter turns on the Question of Sir John Fenwick's Guilt, which indeed was no Question at all; for neither his Friends nor his Council cou'd pretend he was innocent. 'Tis true, they seem'd to insist much upon the Insignificancy of his Person, and that he was not a Man of such Importance, as that *Legislature* should meddle with him, which will be consider'd, before we have done with him.

I shall proceed now to take notice of the Debate, previous to the Commitment of the Bill, to shew how Sir John's Fenwick's Advocates behav'd themselves on that Occasion; and let us see how they agree one with another, some of 'em durst not avowedly defend Fenwick, without complimenting the Court too. Others seem'd to defy the Government, and make it appear they declar'd for Fenwick, more out of Spite to it, than Concern for him. I shall not be at the Pains to range 'em in their several Orders, but take 'em as they come in my way, mentioning only what is most remarkable.

Sir Thomas Dyke said, *The Pretence of the Bill being for the Preservation of the King and Government; if I thought it was really so, I shou'd be heartily for it.* Sir Thomas wou'd not stand to call in Question the Power of Parliaments, if he imagin'd there was any Danger in an Invasion of 8000 French Foot, 1000 French Horse,

Horfe, and 1000 Dragoons, with 2000 Eng-
lish Popish and Jacobite Horfe, headed by
 Sir *John Fenwick*; and let any one judge, whe-
 ther the Preservation of the King's Person
 was not to be consider'd in the Punishment of
 fuch a Criminal. The next Gentleman who
 fpoke for Sir *John Fenwick*, was Mr. *Newport*,
 whose Topick too was the old one, of keep-
 ing to the Rules of *Westminster-Hall*, and the
 Tendernefs that Parliaments fhould have for
 the Lives of Men; *I fpeak not this*, fays he,
upon the Account of Sir John Fenwick, I know
him not, he is a Stranger to me, though I am not
to his Character, and that I hear is none of the
best. As for thofe who urge in this Cafe the
 Want of Precedents, I refer them to what
 Mr. *Simon Harcourt* faid with the fame Air, as
 he fpoke the laft thing of his quoted in this
 Book; *There have been many Precedents, and*
many have been mention'd, and if I thought it
worth while, I could mention many more you have
not heard of. For which Reason we fhall give
 up the Affair of Precedents, with that of
 the Ufages of *Westminster-Hall*, and confine
 our felves to the Man and his Guilt, and the
 Arguments us'd to punifh or fave him. The
 Lord *Cutts* took up Mr. *Harcourt*, as he had
 done before, and that Gentleman having ha-
 rangue'd the Houfe chiefly on the Practice of
 the Common Law, my Lord reply'd, *Since*
I think you are here upon a quite different Foot, I
fhall not follow him, becaufe I will not unnecessa-
rily detain you. To which I fhall add what
 his Lordfhip faid to thofe who wou'd have ex-
 tenuated the Crime, and confequently have
 cenfur'd this extraordinary Method of punifh-
 ing

ing it. *The Conspiracy, of which Sir John Fenwick to me appears guilty, is not only against the Life of the King, not only to depose the King, not only a Conspiracy to raise Rebellion; but at the same time to contrive an Invasion from France, and bring in a Foreign Power. I know not what better Expression to tell my Thoughts in, than by using a Term which Physicians use in some desperate Cases; they tell you there is a Complication of Distempers, and I think this is a Complication of Treasons. Again, I will be bold to say, I do verily believe, that there is not one Gentleman within these Walls, nor that walks the Streets, not a living Soul that doubts of his Crime. Yet tho' the Power of Parliaments to punish is acknowledg'd, tho' there are so many Precedents, tho' the Preservation of the King and Kingdom was concern'd, the Party will not have Sir John Fenwick suffer; what shou'd be the Meaning, unless it was to reward him with Life, for his Endeavours to take away the Lives of his Majesty's Ministers, by treasonable and false Informations? The smartest Part of Mr. John How's Speech, in the Debate before the Bill was committed, being in the Beginning of it, I shall repeat it, Sir, as to what is said, that if it were known how we gave our Opinions, who are against this Bill, the People wou'd not chuse us again; I am not afraid of that, I have been told so often, and yet I find the People I live amongst, use me better and better every Day; and I believe, Sir, they will desire to use me, when they will lay other Men aside. This worthy Member, we must know, had been forward at the Revolution, was made Vice-Chamberlain to Queen Mary;*

had written some Lampoons against King *James*; had also been no Enemy to Grants; but for some Balk or other he chang'd his Behaviour, and was disgrac'd; ever after he fell in with the Tory Party, and was hugg'd by 'em as a Convert of Consequence. He had the Votes in the Country of all the Ill-willers to the Government, to whom he endear'd himself, by declaring he wou'd never accept of a Place; nay, to such a height did his Malice to King *William* rise, that he dar'd to call a Treaty his Majesty had concluded, to preserve the Peace of *Europe*, *Felonious*; yet the good People of *Gloucestershire*, as he brags, us'd him better and better.

Upon King *William's* Death, he accepted of half a Place, worth some Thousands a Year, and he was so well us'd, that he was chosen to represent a County, and two or three Boroughs besides; but the very next Parliament, he was turn'd out at every one of 'em, and has not been a Member these 10 Years, contenting himself with the Sweetness of half an Office, who before had declar'd he wou'd despise a whole one. This Digression will, we hope, be pardon'd, since 'twas necessary to give an Idea of the Motives, upon which Sir *John Fenwick's* Friends acted, to let one the more into their Character. I shall pass over what several Members said further in this Debate, there being little new in it, and come to Sir *Edward Seymour*, who is said not to have been much burthen'd with *Literature*. He was then General of the *West Sax-on* Squadron, Men of his own Size for Reading, and was a main Leader of his Party till Death.

Death. His Learning being pretty much confin'd to the Bible, I shall content my self with repeating what he objected against the Bill, on Account of there being no Witnesses *viva voce*, but Porter, the Nature of the whole Proceeding was against that of Process at Common Law, and 'twas again and again allow'd on all Sides, that the Parliament had a Power to proceed as they did, yet again and again did the Party throw out this stale and exploded Objection, and Sir Edward added, *Susannah had been in a bad Condition, if one Witness and circumstantial Evidence wou'd have made her Guilty*; so that the Knight did not think there was Witness enough for the House to proceed upon this Bill of Attainder. Mr. Brotherton wou'd not have had the Bill pass, because he had found out a way to try Fenwick with one Witness only, and that was by an old obsolete Statute, for a Trial by Combat, that George Porter and Sir John must have decided the Matter before the Earl Marshal, and the Tragedy had been turn'd into a Farce. This worthy Member was so often interrupted by the Noise that was made on Account of the novelty of the Argument, that he cou'd not proceed, so he dropt it.

The next Gentleman, whose Speech I shall make use of in this Debate, is Mr. Robert Harley, who said, *It is admitted, that there have been Bills of Attainder passed formerly, and your Authority is not under Dispute, for the Legislative in all Nations have a Power lodg'd in them for the Safety of the whole. If ever there should happen a Period in the British History, when ill Ministers shall be call'd*

call'd to Account for violating Treaties, making a scandalous and dangerous Peace, ruining the Credit of the Nation, giving up our Commerce to our Enemies, or the like, Will any one doubt the Power of the Parliament in such a Case; and will not the World be amaz'd, if it was not exerted? Whatever Remarkables I find in Mr. *Robert Harley's* Speech, I shall quote them, because as the Duke of *Buckingham* said to the House of Commons, when he deliver'd the Earl of *Clarendon's* Petition upon his running away in 1677. *I am fond of it, and it has a Style which I am in Love with, 'Every Gentleman, says the worthy Member, ought to have a Zeal for the Government, and I wish it was as visible in every Thing else.'* Here's a fling at the Men in Places, who being in his Opinion unfit for them; had they been remov'd himself and his Friends might have come in for a share. Here seems to be another Reason why the Bill against *Fenwick* met with so much Opposition. Mr. *Harley* then speaks of the Accusation of my Lord *Marlborough*, my Lord *Godolphin*, my Lord *Orford*; and see with what concern he does it: *This Bill comes before you upon a villainous, scandalous Aspersions of some Great Men, tho' I know them not all, yet I have a great Value for them, and I would make the Case my own. Witness the Examiners, all Swift's Works for these Three or Four Years last past, and who it was that set the Former to work, and who it was that preferr'd the latter; let all the Nation speak, for it is no part of Secret History? I should be unjust to that worthy Member last mention'd,*

if

If I did not repeat what he says with surprising warmth against Attainders, notwithstanding his having given the Parliament the Power of 'em. He insinuates, that he would oppose *Fenwick's* Bill, were it only for the sake of those Lords and Gentlemen *Sir John* had accus'd, and for whom he had so great a Value; but then his Opposition was for fear such Precedent should in Time be turn'd against those his dear Friends. 'Sir, *says he*, I won't run into Precedents, but only because it hath been told you, that the Precedents were made in one Reign by one Faction, and then the Attainders were revers'd in another Reign by another Faction; here is one occurs to my mind, which hath not been touch'd at, and is at least of *particular Instruction to me.*' There was a Case in *Edward the Third's* Time, a King had been depos'd, and barbarously murder'd; this sure can be no manner of Reflection on King *William*, because King *James* was depos'd, since the abdicated King was then alive, and as lusty as when the Pretender was begotten. He proceeds, 'There was no disputed Title, but his Son was upon the Throne.' Here the Case differs again, there was a Faction that did dispute his Majesty's Title, and would have had King *James* or his pretended Son on the Throne, but neither *Fenwick* nor they cou'd, God be thank'd, accomplish it. 'The notoriety of Fact, *continues he*, and its heinousness, stirr'd up many Heats, which brought in an Attainder, and particularly of a very great Peer; but Four Years after a Bill was brought in against the Earl of *March*, and
'one

' one of the Articles against him was, That
 ' he had procured the Attainder of that No-
 ' ble Lord, under pretence of some Letter or
 ' Paper that was sign'd by him, which if it
 ' was so, says the Record, was no Evidence.
 Therefore you who are accus'd by Sir John
Fenwick in the Letter or Paper sign'd by him,
 have a care how you pass this Attainder Bill,
 for as great a value as this Gentleman has for
 you, he's afraid you may be serv'd the same
 Sauce, or else he would not give the Bill so
 much Opposition. This I take to be the
 meaning of this *Mysterious* Harangue, which
 concludes thus, and I the rather mention it
 because of the great *Tendre* the Orator had
 then for an Army. You must provide for the
 Government, and Armies must do it, when the
 Courts are shut, and Laws are silent, but 'tis
 hard to pervert the Methods of common Justice,
 without any necessity. I hope Gentlemen will not
 put a hard Construction upon what I have said,
 I have done it to discharge a good Conscience; on
 which no Man can doubt. I have done
 with the Debate before the Commitment,
 which lasted till near a 11 a Clock at Night
 17th of Nov. 1696, and the Question for it
 being then put, the House divided.

Yea's 182. Noe's 128.

When the Committee of the whole House
 took it into Consideration, these Words were
 added to the Bill, *Of which Treason the said*
Sir John Fenwick is Guilty; and that Clause
 could no longer be debated. On the 25th of
 Nov. 1696, the Bill was read the Third Time,

and several Gentlemen spoke for and against
 it before the Question was put for its passing.
 Mr. Methuen, who however was for the Bill,
 said, *If Goodman had dy'd, and there had been no
 other Reason for attainting Sir John Fenwick,
 but want of Evidence, he should not have thought
 it sufficient.* But the Arts that were us'd to
 delay the Trial, to get *Goodman* and *Porter*
 out of the way, the heinousness of the Crime,
 and the necessity of punishing it, deliver'd
 over the Criminal to the Justice of the Legi-
 slature, which contains the Substance of the
 Argument for Trying him in that manner.
Sir Bartholomew Shower own'd there might be
 Reason to pass an Act to make the Informa-
 tion *Goodman* had given and sworn to before
 he made his escape, valid in *Fenwick's* Case.
 Now if there was Reason to pass such an Act,
 it must arise from the Necessity of punishing
Fenwick for the Preservation of the Govern-
 ment; and such Necessity warranted every
 Member of the House of Commons, who be-
 liev'd him Guilty, to give his Vote for the
 Bill, he acting in a Legislative Capacity, and
 not being ty'd up to the Rules of a Jury Man.
 If I should go about to repeat what was said
 on the Debate before the Bill pass'd, I should
 be guilty of Tautology, and say the same
 Things over again. I shall therefore only hint
 some Things here and there which were most
 remarkable. Mr. *Methuen*, Father of the
 Right Honourable *Paul Methuen*, Esq; One
 of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury,
 open'd it with an admirable Speech, of which
 I shall quote only what relates to the making
Fenwick's Case a Precedent, which those that
 op-

oppos'd the Bill affected to be greatly concern'd for. If this Precedent, says Mr. Methuen, will appear to Posterity upon the Truth of the Thing, to be a Precedent made of a Man notoriously Guilty, of a Man that had deserved this extraordinary way of Proceeding, and this general Resentment of the Nation; and that nothing could have hinder'd this Man from the common Justice of the Nation, but his having endeavour'd to elude it in this manner; and that it appears that you would not be put off so, but that your Indignation made an Example of this Man: I shall not be sorry it should appear to Posterity, but I believe Posterity will, as I think they ought to thank you for it. Sir Godfrey Copley said, He own'd he was one of those that look'd upon Sir John Fenwick to be Guilty, but he could not be for attainting him, because there was more than one Witness! *viva voce*. Had he been upon a Jury at the Old-Bailey, his Reason had been good; a Jury-Man must go according to the Rules of the Common-Law, a Member of Parliament according to his Conscience. Mr. Foley, the Speaker's Son, having enlarg'd on the same Thing, the want of legal Evidence, said, however, I do believe in my own private Opinion as much as any Body that Sir John Fenwick is Guilty, yet he concludes, I am not for bringing his Blood upon me or my Posterity, nor can I give my Consent to this Precedent, for them to be hanged on such Evidence. My Lord Cutts came to the Point, and one may reasonably believe by the strange Opposition this Bill met with, the only one which stuck closest to the Party. He argued for its passing, from the danger the Govern-

ment wou'd be in from the Impunity of
such a Criminal, who was so far from merit-
ing Mercy by confessing, that his very Con-
fession aggravated his Crime. 'I don't doubt,
says his Lordship, but this Gentleman knows
a great deal that he hath never laid before
you. I would not be thought to press it
as an Argument, that he should be con-
demn'd because he wont confess; but I will
be bold to say, if he does know of a great
many Persons that have been concerned in
this Business; if he knows of a Rising that
was design'd when this Conspiracy was to be
executed, and it may be executed still if
Things be ripe for it; I say, though you
keep him in Hold, it will be an Encourage-
ment to them to go on in their Cabals, in
buying of Arms, &c. I think the Matter
before you is no less than the Fate of Eng-
land, and the Fate of Europe, and of all
your Posterity. I am sure it is, and give
me leave to say to you one Thing that is
Matter of Fact, there are those Stories in-
sinuated abroad, and those Matters of
Fact asserted, with relation to a Conspira-
cy, and reviling this House, that are not
fit for me to repeat. And your Enemies
last Year, before the breaking out of this
Conspiracy, had the same sort of Meetings,
and the same sort of Discourse as they have
now, &c. What can give one a clearer
Idea of the Design of those that oppos'd the
Bill? Why was it that they acted so openly
in Favour of a Party, Enemies to the Govern-
ment? What made them so insensible of the
Nation's danger, and so concern'd to save
the

the Man that had been so instrumental in bringing it into it? We shall find them in the same Disposition all King *William's* Reign, and how some of them behav'd themselves during the Three last Years of the Queen, is too fresh and too strong in our Memories to be forgotten. Sir *Charles Carteret* had a scruple upon him, which did not enter into the Heads of many of *Fenwick's* Advocates, and that was, that because *Young* had contriv'd a sham Plot against the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, therefore the Affassination and Invaſion Plot might be a sham too. *It may be true*, ſays he, that there was ſuch a Meeting as Sir *John Fenwick* is accus'd of being at, and yet Sir *John Fenwick* might not be there. I muſt own, if any Member of the Houſe of Commons cou'd be ſo little capable of Conviction, as not to believe *Fenwick* was of the Conſpiracy, he ought by no means to have voted for the Bill; and this Gentleman who had heard *Porter* ſwear it, and heard it authentically prov'd that *Goodman* had ſworn it, who had doubtleſs heard that *Charnock* and others had confeſs'd it; if he queſtion'd whether *Fenwick* was after all one of the Conſpirators, he cou'd not with a ſafe Conſcience give his Conſent to the Attainting him; but what an Underſtanding that Man muſt have to doubt of ſuch a Truth ſo unaniouſly acknowledg'd, as was *Fenwick's* Guilt, I leave to the Reader to judge. Mr. *Manley* was not contented to ſay, the Proceeding againſt Sir *John Fenwick* was contrary to the Form of *Common Law*, but was alſo contrary to the fundamental Rules of *Reason and Juſtice*, how unjuſt and unreaſon-

able

able was it that a Traytor to his lawful King and Country should be brought to Condign Punishment? Yet Mr. *Dolben* was of the same Opinion, closing his long Speech about Precedents, Statutes, and the like, with these Expressions. *So that in a Word, because this Bill of Attainder flies in the Face of Statute Law, Common Law, and Common Justice, therefore I am against it.* Let it be remembred to the Honour of this Gentleman's Family, that Two of them have appear'd foremost in Two extraordinary Cases wherein the Liberties of England were concern'd. 'Twas a *Dolben* that made the first Motion in the Debate about the Abdication of King *James*, and 'twas a *Dolben* that first mov'd the bringing that Arch Incendiary *Sacheverel* before the Parliament; and if any of the Name have dishonour'd it by favouring the opposite Party, let the Zeal of those Two Gentlemen in the Cause of Liberty, atone for the Errors of their Kinsmen.

Sir *Edward Seymour* is very remarkable for the Speech he made on this Occasion, wherein he does not only with great Scholarship quote *Latin*, *De non apparentibus, & non existentibus eadem est ratio*, but notwithstanding *Porter* had sworn that Sir *John Fenwick* had been at several Treasonable Meetings, yet the good Knight says, *Instead of Two Witnesses you have no Witness at all*; and his Reason is, that *Porter* having been himself in the Conspiracy, could not be a legal Witness, a way of arguing worthy the Cause it was to defend, and the singular Learning of the Person that made use of it; who having quoted Two or Three Texts of Scripture out of *Numbers* and *Deuteronomy*, and

compar'd those who voting according to their Consciences were for the Bill's passing, to *Ravillac* and *Felton*, who had the same pretence, grows very smart towards the end of his Oration. 'You have been told, *says he*, it is expected from you by your Country, that you should exert this Authority and Power. Sir, I would have been glad, that in Cases more reasonable, we had exerted the Authority and Power of Parliaments; I wish it had gone to the preventing the debasing and abusing your Coin; I wish it would be exerted that we might not see our selves cheated under Countenance of an Act of Parliament; but contrary to that, you are fond of being sprinkled with the Blood of Sir *John Fenwick*. As long as the Government is not in danger, I believe the Country would be glad that their Blood might run secure in their Veins, and not be tapped upon every Occasion to serve a Turn. Here's Eloquence and Honesty. What Turn but that of the publick Safety cou'd be serv'd by tapping Sir *John Fenwick*? Was he the Envy of any of the Ministers? But this *West Saxon* Orator did not always govern himself so much by Reason as by Passion; and if he said a close Thing, did not care how true or how decent it was. *We see*, continues he, *how unbounded the Liberty the Lords take is, they would become Masters of all our Estates, and I would be very loath for my Estate to depend upon the feeble Tenure of a Lord's Conscience.* He spares neither the Government nor the House of Lords, like *Drawcanfir*, he lays about him on all Sides but that he then was most engag'd in; for he says very

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very little to the Purpose against the Justice of the Bill he oppos'd. What Mr. *Vernon* said on this Head carries with it such a face of Truth and Reason, that it will give Satisfaction to every impartial, unprejudic'd Mind. I don't find, says he, the Question is, whether Sir John Fenwick is Guilty, but whether there be any Evidence of his Guilt; and I shall tell you in short my Opinion of that, I take the Proof of the Fact to be in general such a Demonstration as the Nature of the Thing is capable of, and that is sufficient to convince a reasonable, honest, unprejudic'd Man of the Truth of what is asserted, when there is no manner of doubt left whether it is so or no, nor the appearance of any possibility that it could be otherwise. I think there hath been that Proof in this Case, and nothing attempted to disprove it; and nothing hath been proved on Sir John Fenwick's behalf that any wrong hath been done him; and therefore, in short, my Sense of it is, That whereas some Gentlemen think him Guilty, but the Matter not proved, I think him Guilty because it is proved, and there hath been no Offer made to disprove it. Mr. *Bromley* said, 'I shall say nothing to the Power of Parliaments, which I have learn'd from my Lord *Coke*, is so Transcendent and Absolute, that it can't be confin'd within any Bounds.' And he would have taken off Gentlemen from voting for the Bill, by representing to them, that 'twas not brought up on Account of the Danger the Government was in, but for the Vindication of one honourable Persons Reputation: Which was Reason enough with the Party to save *Fenwick*, on purpose to leave such a stain on that honourable Persons Character. As to the

danger of the Government, which was set forth so admirably well by my Lord Cutts, Mr. Hartcourt declar'd, *If any Body would convince him there was such Danger, he promis'd him if it was worth his Time so to do, he wou'd be his Profelyte, and vote for the Bill.* Pray mind this, notwithstanding how he sweated to prove the Novelty and Illegality of this manner of Proceeding; that it was contrary to all Rules of *Westminster-hall*; yet he was so super-abundantly Loyal to King *William*, that if he cou'd have been convinc'd of his Majesty's danger by a *French* Invasion, he wou'd have voted for the Bill. Those worthy Gentlemen are so consistent in every Thing, sometimes 'tis Hereditary Right, sometimes Protestant Succession; as formerly, 'twas sometimes Liberty and Property, sometimes Prerogative and Obedience. Sir *Richard Temple*, tho' he voted against the Bill, yet had an Expression which shew'd he was better dispos'd to the Government, than most of those who voted with him, for he gave the due Term to the *Abdication*: *You have depos'd King James* for breaking in upon the Law. Mr. *Comper's* excellent Speech deserves to be printed *verbatim*, but I have already been too long on this Subject, and shall be oblig'd to spend many more Pages on it to make it compleat. I cannot help repeating what that great Orator Lawyer said with reference to the Necessity of punishing *Fenwick* as he was a *Traytor of Eminence*. 'Some Gentlemen, said he, have set a great Weight upon this Argument. Say they, Sir *Fohn Fenwick* is not a Man so considerable, as to endanger the Government.

I admit it, they that have spoke for the Bill, have not, as I observe, made use of the contrary Argument, but as to that, this is what I lay my Finger upon in particular, 'tis plain he was to be General, and must know a great many Officers under him, and therefore I am satisfied he hath not made that Atonement to his injur'd Country that is in his Power, and that he ought to have done; and I am satisfy'd that unless this Bill proceed against him with the greatest steadiness, you will have none of that Discovery. Here several Members made a noise, and interrupted him, as not being able to bear any Thing which prest so hard upon the Man they had been pleading for. The other parts of the Argument had been sufficiently canvass'd. It had been prov'd by Twenty Members on the side of the Bill, that the Parliament had Authority to proceed against *Fenwick* by Attainder, it had been confess'd by their Opponents, the Evidence of his Guilt had been set forth, and he had been generally allow'd to be Guilty. The danger of saving him had been exaggerated, and there remain'd only to shew, that as mean a Man as some may look on him, with respect to the Assembly who had taken on them to judge his Case, it was not unworthy of them, nor had his Behaviour been such as to deserve any Favour from them. But this was likely to affect Gentlemen as much as Arguments on the Power of Parliaments, and since the Party cou'd not answer him, they had recourse to Noise, which is never wanting to them. Mr. *Comper* continu'd his Discourse

thus: ' Don't let Gentlemen pervert this Argument, and say, will you hang a Man if he don't confess? No, but when I have heard such Proof that he is Guilty of the worst of Treasons, and that he has aggravated his Crime in the manner he has done, I think he deserves to die, unless he will merit his Life by a useful Discovery of what he cannot but know. And I think it of the highest importance to you that can be, that you should come to the further Knowledge of the other Branch of the Conspiracy, the meeting and joyning with the *French King's Forces in England*. I think you are now in a proper Method to attain that Knowledge, and perhaps you may have a better Issue of this Bill than this Gentleman's Death; but if not, he will but pay that Debt which he manifestly owes to the Justice of his Country.' Mr. Jeffery Jefferies hop'd the Lords would take more care of the Matter than the Commons. The last who spoke in this Debate, was the Brother of Mr. Robert Harley, Mr. Edward, who thinking the Bill to be against the Liberty of the Subject, declar'd he cou'd not be for it; but that did not it seems, turn the Sentiments of the House, who upon the Question, carry'd it in the Affirmative that the Bill should pass.

Year 189, No's 156.

I cannot imagine that a Debate of this Importance will be tedious, tho' it is of this length; I might have made it much longer, but as the Speeches have been seen already,

I thought an Abstract of the most remarkable of 'em wou'd be most acceptable, and I have not done that, but with a View to shew, how the Practices of some Men of late agree with their Actions Twenty Years ago. I have now something to relate in Continuation of this Attainder, which is not so easily to be come at as the Speeches in the House of Commons, I mean the Proceedings in the House of Lords, which tho' not so particulariz'd, yet they are as Authentick, and as much to be depended upon. The Bill was debated as warmly in the House of Peers, as it had been in that of the Commons, and before the Reading, Sir John Fenwick was ask'd what he had to say? He desir'd Three Things.

1. *That according to what had been first promis'd by the Lords, what he should say in that Court might not be made use of against him in any inferior Court; and also that he might have an Assurance of it from the King.*

2. *That he might have a Pardon before he confess'd.*

3. *That he might not be made use of as an Evidence after it.*

His Majesty having receiv'd an Address from the Lords for the first, was graciously pleas'd to grant it. The Second was thought very extravagant and unreasonable, after he had dealt so disingenuously already; but his Demand was so far comply'd with, that he was told, if he made such a Confession as would be satisfactory to that House, they wou'd therein also interceed with the King, and they bid him rest assur'd, that they did not then doubt of the King's Favour, both as

to his Pardon, and his being made an Evidence. All his pretences were trivial, he continu'd to dally with the Legislature, being fed with Hopes to the very last by the Party, that the Lords wou'd not pass the Bill. In which he however found himself miserably mistaken, for tho' even the Duke of *Devonshire*, and several of the King's faithful Servants and Counsellors gave their Vote against it, yet upon the Question, 'twas there carry'd in the Affirmative.

There remain'd nothing for him now to have recourse to but the King's Clemency, which he had so ill deserv'd. I should have observ'd, that Sir *John Fenwick* was bouy'd up by the Party from the very beginning of his being a Prisoner in *London*. When he was first brought before the Lords Justices, it was testify'd at the Bar of the House of Peers that he deny'd every Thing he was charg'd with, but their Lordships telling him he was not of that Mind when he wrote the Letter to his Lady, and ordering it to be shewn him, he said nothing to it, but laid down the Letter, and was silenc'd by it, which was taken then as an implicit Confession; and no doubt the Letter convinc'd all that saw it of the certainty of his Guilt, tho' some of his Friends so strenuously defended his *Innocence* in the Face of the whole Nation represented in Parliament.

Tho' the Act of Attainder past in *December*, yet he was not Executed till the latter end of *January* following. A few Days before his Execution his Wife caus'd a Petition to be presented to the House of Lords for a

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Suspension of it for Eight Days; to which was annex'd a Narrative, signifying, as he says in the Paper he deliver'd to the Sheriffs, that he had discover'd formerly a Conspiracy against the King's Life, but as he was not known to be the Discoverer, as it wou'd have been a very easy way to save his Life, by assuming the Merit of another conceal'd Person; as he had been so far from repenting of his Acquaintance with that Treason, as to run into another, he had no Reason to expect that his Crime with such detestable Aggravations should be forgiven. It was further alledg'd in the Petition, *That he wanted the assistance of a Divine.* This Plea was a very plausible one, but alas! how short did it come of Sincerity? The Government offer'd him his Choice of all the Clergy in *England* that had taken the Oaths, and if that would not please him, that he should make Choice of any one of the *Bishops* who had dissented about the Bill of the Attainder; all whom he would not admit. If he wou'd be help'd towards his Salvation it must be by a *Jacobite*, by one of the Faction that had conspir'd the King's Death, and the Invasion of the Kingdom: Well, he is humour'd in that, and Three or Four Clergymen, all Nonjurors, were offer'd him, but truly they had not Charity enough to do him the last Office, they wou'd not come, pretending 'twas out of fear that the Oaths which 99 in a 100 of all the sober and learned Clergy of *England* had taken, should be tender'd them. He was at last offer'd Dr. *White*, the Non-juring Bishop of *Peterborough*, but truly the abdicated Bishop lov'd to be safe
as

as well as the inferiour Non-juring Parsons wherein they all shew'd a strange neglect of Sir John Fenwick at his last Moments; for they might well have imagin'd that the Government which had so graciously given them Permission to attend him, would not have taken any Advantage of their appearance against them. From whence we may reasonably conclude, that there was something else designed by the Petition for a Suspension of Fenwick's Execution, besides a Reprieve of Eight Days; and that seems to be a shew of his going off with *eclat*, like a Martyr on the 30th of January, for the Time of the Suspension wou'd have expir'd on that very Day, as will be observ'd hereafter.

I shall close what I have to say of this Matter with a Passage which I hope every one will allow to be a part of Secret History, unless they can tell me from whence I took it, which will be too difficult a Task for them to attempt. My Lady Mary Fenwick finding all Application to the Lords in vain, apply'd herself at last to the King, to implore his Majesty's Grace for her Husband; several Lords who were related to her, join'd with her in it as far as it consist'd with his Majesty's Safety, and the Welfare of his Government. The King looking on her as she kneel'd before him with Eyes of Compassion, and seeming to be so far affected with so moving a Figure, as to incline to Clemency, one of the Lords near his Majesty's Person said, Sir, *this Lady is to be pity'd, but if the Conspiracy had succeeded, England wou'd have been to be pity'd much more; she wou'd not only have shed Tears*

like

this afflicted Woman, but a Deluge of Blood
 d' have flow'd from her, by the Massacre of
 best English-men. And the just Reason
 this Lord for making one of the chief Con-
 rators an Example, as it spoilt the tender
 ffects of his Majesty's Pity, so ought it much
 ore to stifle all Sentiments of Compassion in
 e Minds of them, and perswade them to
 quiesce in the Justice of the Nation.

What little Hopes there were of getting
 y thing out of Sir John Fenwick, for the
 od of the Government; one may imagine
 the Behaviour of another Plotter; his
 other-in-Law, the Lord Preston, who ha-
 ng made a long Confession to procure his
 rdon, after he was condemn'd; when the
 rdon was obtain'd, deny'd every Word of
 at Confession. The Tory Jacobites imita-
 g in that the Popish, and thinking it meri-
 rious to Lie for the Cause.

There were no two Incidents in King Wil-
 m's Reign, which his Enemies endeavour'd
 blacken his Government with more than
 Fenwick's Attainder, and the Lancashire Plot,
 which tho' first in Order of Time, yet I men-
 on last, because since I had written the pre-
 eding Paper, Memoirs have fall'n into my
 ands, which gives me a clear View of that
 recended Mystery. After the Trial of the
 Lancashire Papists was over, and they had
 ad the good Luck to escape the Gallows,
 he Jacobites rail'd at the Prosecution of them,
 s a flagrant Act of Injustice, and even some
 Williamites, who affected to shew their great
 Wisdom by a scrupulous Faith, and to mea-
 ure their Belief by their Knowledge, shak'd
 their

their Noddles in Contempt of a Business that certainly was as well grounded as any Act of Government of that Nature cou'd be: By this Means the *Lancashire* Plot, in the Opinion of the *Jacobites*, and such nice *Williamites* as I speak of, was then, and is still, look'd upon to be what *Ferguson* call'd it, in his Letter to the Lord Chief Justice *Holt*, *A sham Contrivance of some little Ministers, to ruin those that were accused without Cause.* Now to clear that Reign of any such vile Imputation, will shew what Cause the then Ministers had to prosecute the *Lancashire* Papists, and leave it to the Reader to determine of its Sufficiency.

I shall observe before I enter upon this Subject, that 'twas taken notice of in Parliament, which warrants my treating of it here. What they thought worthy their Examination, one may well think worthy our Curiosity; and besides, it was spoken of in *Fenwick's* Debate by several Members. *Thomas Littleton* said, we have had Plot upon Plot, and I have found so much said on Behalf of the *Lancashire* Plot without Doors, that I was we do not get an ill Name upon our selves before we have done. I shall therefore make it appear, that the *Lancashire* Business was far from being that Sham or that Trifle King *William's* Enemies, or easy Friends, represented it.

The first Traytor employ'd in *Lancashire* after the Abdication, was the Quaker *Brotherfield*, who from the Earl of *Salisbury's* at *Hartfordshire*, went to the North of *England*, where he poyson'd the Minds

the People, with Aversion to the Revolution; thence he went to *Scotland*, where he was very instrumental in *Dundee's* Rebellion; thence to *Ireland*, where he confirm'd *Tyrconnel* in his resolution, to defend that Kingdom against *King William*; and from thence he went to *Worcestershire*, where he took up his head Quarters at *Mr. Fitzherberts* of *Wapra*, and *Mr. Wilson's* in *Redland*. From thence he went frequently to the *Lord Molyneux's* at *Croxted*, where, and at other Popish Houses, he had his Conferences with the Conspirators, to consult how to forward the Restoration of their Master; but he cou'd not carry on this Matter so secretly, as not to give Occasion of Suspicion to the well-affected Gentry of that County, who got such good Information of his Treason, that the Ship he bought to carry him, to and from *Ireland*, was seiz'd by *Mr. Morston*. However, by the Assistance of another *Mr. Morston*, *Mr. Wynn* of *Wynn*, *Mr. Loyd* of *Greith*, *Mr. Robert Brierley* of *West-chester*, *Mr. George Pennant*, and *Mr. Pue* of *Pendal*; he afterwards got over to *Ireland*, and for the Peril he ran, was made by *King James*, one of the Commissioners of his *Irish Mint*. This was sworn by *George Wilson* of *Redland*, at whose House *Bromfield* lodg'd, before *Sir John Trenchard* then Secretary of State, the 24th of June, 1694.

I am the more desirous to relate this, because *Bromfield* in the late bad Times, not only appear'd in publick, as did also *Skelton* of *St. Germans*, *Lawless* the Pretender's Agent in *Spain*, and other Traytors; but did it with

a Look of Satisfaction and Joy in the Measures taken by the then Managers, as I have my self seen him more than once.

Thus we find a Plot set on foot in *Lancashire* so early, as the Year 1689. For *Lunt* swore in the Information he gave of it, that *Bromfield*, in the Name of the *Lancashire* Men, desir'd Commissions from King *James* to raise Horse and Foot, which was granted that *Lunt*, and one *Thrilsal*, of the *Ashe* near *Goosner* in *Lancashire*, were sent over with those Commissions and Declarations. This was sworn by *Lunt* himself, and by *George Wilson* before-mention'd, who swore that he saw *Lunt* deliver,

To Mr. *Sherburn* of *Stonyhurst*, a Commission for a Regiment of Horse.

To Mr. *Tounley* of *Tounley*, a Commission for a Regiment of Horse.

To Mr. *Girlington* of *Girlington*, a Commission for a Regiment of Foot.

To Mr. *Westby* of *Mobrick*, a Commission for a Regiment of Dragoons.

To Mr. *Legh* of *Lyme*, a Commission for a Regiment of Foot.

To Sir *Thomas Stanley* of *Alderley*, a Commission for a Regiment of Horse.

To Mr. *Chumley* of *Vale Royal*, a Commission for a Regiment of Horse.

To Sir *Rowland Stanley*, a Commission for a Regiment of Horse.

To Sir *Robert Throgmorton*, a Commission for a Regiment of Horse.

To Sir *Henry Titchbourn*, a Commission for a Regiment of Horse.

To Sir ——— *Gifford of Chillington*, a Commission for a Regiment of Horse.

To Sir *James Symmonds of Ashton in Staffordshire*, a Commission for a Regiment of Horse.

The Lord *Molyneux* had a Commission to be Governor of *Liverpool*.

Sir *Charles Neal* had a Commission to be a Lieutenant Colonel.

William Fowler, Esq; of *St. Thomas near Ashford*, had a Captain's Commission.

Mr. *Augustine Gifford*, } were to be Captains
Captain Goure, } of Horse.
Basil Brooks, Esq;

Thomas Tildesley, Esq; was to have a Regiment of Horse.

———— *Dalton of Thurnham, Esq;* a Regiment of Dragoons.

The Lord *Brudenel*, a Regiment of Horse.

Among these we shall find not only Papists, but several who call'd themselves *Staunch Church-men*, as Mr. *Girlington*, Mr. *Chumley*, Mr. *Legh of Lyme*, Sir *Thomas Stanley*, Sir *Jonland Stanley*, and others. These, and several other Commissions being deliver'd by *Lunt* and *Wilson*, of which they made *Authentic Depositions*; *Lunt* was sent to *London* to list Men, and buy Arms, which he did, as appears not only by his own Evidence, but the Evidence of *Robert Bradley*, of *Chippin in Lancashire*, before Judge *Rokesby*, and *John Wilson* of the same *Chippin*, before Judge *Eyre*.

When *Lunt* came to *Ireland* from *Lancashire*, he had a private Audience of the Earl

Earl of *Melfort*, at which no body assisted but the Lord *George Howard*, Lord *Thomas Howard*, and the Quaker *Bromfield*, which mention to shew the Plot was a continu'd one from the Beginning of the Revolution, and was first laid by that *Bromfield*, who had so much the Countenance of the late Managers.

Several of these Commissions were seiz'd aboard the *Bark*, that brought *Lunt* and *Thrilsal* from *Ireland*. The Custom-house Officers finding these Treasonable Commissions and Declarations, pursu'd *Thrilsal* and *Lunt*, but cou'd not overtake them. The Papers were left in a Hurry, they were so afraid of being taken, that they did not give themselves time to carry off all their Cargo. This was made evident by the Oaths of two of the Boat's Crew, *Henry Knowles*, and *Richard Whiteside*. The Conspirators grew so bold that the *Lancashire* Gentlemen had a Meeting to consult how to discover their wicked Designs, and prevent the Execution of them. At last they receiv'd Information of *Thrilsal* being come from *Ireland*, and lurking in the County, and of *Lunt*'s having been at *Mr Tildesley's*, and of both their executing their Commissions, in spreading the Declarations &c. Upon which Warrants were deliver'd out to apprehend them and others. *Thrilsal* was found, and in a Stack of Turf, near his own House, by a Corporal of the Militia who offering to seize him, *Thrilsal* snatch'd his Musket out of his Hand, and made Resistance. The Corporal finding his Life in Danger, drew his Sword, and ran *Thrilsal*

thro' the Body, of which Wound he dy'd upon the Spot. Can any thing be a plainer Proof of that Traytor's Guilt, than his venturing his Life, rather than stand a Trial. And can any one doubt there was a Plot in *Lancashire*, when one of their Plotters lost his Life for it in this manner; yet do the Faction and the Fools doubt the Truth of a Conspiracy, which is as evident as Evidence cou'd make it; the one to asperse the Government, the other to shew they are cautious Creatures, and not easily to be impos'd upon. That the former were as great *Villains* in that as in the Conspiracy, of which they were guilty, will appear, by shewing the Government did not concern it self in the Matter, till the best Gentleman in *Lancashire* apply'd to the Earl, now his Grace the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, then one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, in the following Letter, which proves that the Prosecution of that Plot was not yet spirited up by the Court, as the Arch-Traytor *Ferguson* insinuates; but was prosecuted on the Applications of those who were most concern'd to prevent its succeeding, being Gentlemen of the best Estates in that County Palatine.

Right Honourable;

WE account it our humble Duty, to make his Majesty, by the Favour of your Lordship's Relation, acquainted, that many of our Roman Catholick younger Gentry, some of good Quality, have for some Months absconded,

L

tho'

tho' we are sure they remain in our County. We have had divers Discoveries by Information, that there has been some modeling of Officers and Men, preparatory to their Hopes of an Insurrection; and after several too plain Proofs, tho' not affecting us yet to that degree, as to think it material enough to trouble your good Lordship with, yet the Continuance of them, and the Observation that spreads and becomes a publick Remark, puts us upon it to present your Honour with the Account; that to some of the Gentlemen now absconded, there hath been sent from London, Boxes with Scarlet Cloaks, Pistols, and Swords, directed for safer Conveyance to Protestants, who knew nothing of them; and by Neglect of the Correspondents, unintentionally deliver'd as directed, and so came to be discover'd. That there hath been War-Saddles bespoke, and privately convey'd to disaffected Persons five or six Months ago; and tho' our Goals are full of Irish Papists, yet we have frequent Accounts of many others at Popish Houses; and that which gives the Occasion of this is, that the last Day but one, six new War-Saddles were sent for in the Night by a Popish Gentlewoman, one Mrs. Culchith, a Widow, who hath three Brothers now absconded, and we have five Persons in Prison about them, all Papists; and the Rumour so possesses the enraged Rabble, that we are more solicitous to appease them, than afraid of what the male-contented restless Gentlemen can do; for we are sufficiently able and vigilant to free our Country from Danger. There are some Constables and others deserve Rewards for their extraordinary Care. What we shall do with these Offenders, with these Saddles, or with others upon the like Occasions,

Tour

Your Lordship's Appointment, according to his Majesty's good Pleasure, will, with the greatest Humility and Faithfulness be comply'd with, and obeyed by,

Your Lordship's most humble
and obedient Servants,

H. Willoughby,	Joseph Yates,
Ralph Ashton,	Nich. Starkie,
James Holte,	Henry Farrington,
Tho. Lever,	Joseph Horton.

The flying away of Mr. *Walmesley* and others to *France*, was a great Corroboration of the Truth of the Conspiracy, which wanted not sufficient Evidence, till several of the King's Witnesses were murder'd, as will be shewn hereafter. *Lunt*, and *Abbot* the Lord *Molyneux's* Steward were seiz'd at *Coventry*; and *Cawson* Master of the Vessel, in which *Lunt* and *Thrilsal* came from *Ireland*, in *Lancashire*; *Cawson* being sent for up to Town by a Messenger, was told when he came to *Coventry*, that *Lunt* was in Goal there; and when he went to see him in Prison, he own'd 'twas the same Man he brought from *Ireland*, and to whom the treasonable Papers taken aboard his Vessel belong'd: Upon which *Lunt* was sent for to *London*, and committed to *Newgate*.

Tho' this Fellow afterwards made a full Confession of the Matter, yet the Proof of it did not depend on his single Evidence. For *John Kelly*, an *Irish* Soldier, harbour'd by the Lord *Molyneux*, and other Papists in *Lancashire*, being taken in *Worcestershire*, made

Oath before Mr. Thomas Yarnold, Mayor of Evesham; Richard, Earl of Bellomont; Sir James Rushout, Bar. William Bromley, Esq; Edmund Lechmere, Esq; and Richard Dowdewell, Esq; that he had seen the Commissions sent from Ireland to the young Lord Molyneux, Mr. Townley of Townley, Mr. Standish of Standish, Sir James Pool of Pool-Hall, near Chester, and others, that 500 Irish Soldiers lurk'd in Lancashire, that Liverpool-Castle was to be surpriz'd that he was employ'd by Mr. Standish, in carrying Letters up and down to the Conspirators, that Arms and all sorts of Warlike Furniture were provided and hid in Cellars, and other private Places in the County of Lancashire &c. His Information was so full and particular, that several Papists of that Country were taken up, and others fled; yet the Plot was all this while ridicul'd and treated as a Contrivance of the State to persecute these Gentlemen; but Kelly's Evidence startled them, and they resolv'd to hinder the Government's having the Benefit of it the most substantial way, by removing him into another World. For no sooner had another of the Conspirators, Mr. Robert Dodsworth of Croxly Ravensworth, in the County of Westmorland, given Information of the same Conspiracy to his Kinsman Roger Kirby, Esq; Governor of Chester, and the Earl of Macclesfield, than the Conspirators made away with Kelly, and he was no more heard of. Dodsworth was sent for to London, and gave a full Information of the Plot, which he swore to before my Lord Chief Justice Holt; he nam'd Mr. William Molyneux, Mr. Townley

Mr. *Standish*, and others, to have had Commissions. He gave an Account of Arms provided, and Men listed; but there is a Paragraph in his Information, which has particular Relation to the *Staunch Church-men* of the Order of *Sacheverel*, I shall therefore repeat it, to shew what good Friends the High-flyers have been to *Popery* and *Slavery*, otherwise for King *James*, ' This Informant further deposeth, That Mr. *Marsden*, a Protestant, was one of their Companions, and he having a great Estate, always protected *Roman Catholicks*, when there was Occasion. This Informant further deposeth, That Mr. *Husband*, a Protestant, a Tradesman, in *Kirby Lonsdale*, bought Warlike Furniture, for the Use of the *Roman Catholicks*, and was always very intimate with them. Besides these two, there was one *Carter*, another such rare Protestant, who accepted a Captain's Commission in Col. *Molyneux's* Regiment; as did also one *Alexander Butler*, a High-flyer too, in that of Col. *Tildesley*, and two more such *Staunch-men*, *Kimple* and *Cole* had Cornets Commissions in the same Regiment. This he swore the 16th of *May*, 1690. And had not *Kelly* been made away with, the *Lancashire* Plotters had been try'd then; but the Heads of them, as Colonel *Molyneux*, Mr. *Standish*, Mr. *Townley*, Mr. *Blundel* of *Ince*, &c. made their Escape; and tho' they were search'd for twelve Months together by the Militia, yet they cou'd not be found, as appears by a Letter from three Justices of the Peace of that County Palatine, Sir *Ralph Ashton*, Joseph

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Horton,

Horton, Esq; Joseph Yates, Esq;

This Discovery so frightened the Popish Conspirators and their Abettors in *Lancashire*, that they lay quiet for some time; and left the Management of King *James's* Affairs to the Lord *Preston*, Mr. *Ashton*, Mr. *Eliot*, Mr. *Crosby*, and others, at *London*, Men of staunch Principles, who wou'd have made blessed Ministers in the late Times, when we and *France* were such good Friends. *Dodsworth* being a Papist, cou'd not be rewarded with a Post for his Discovery, so a Pension, but a very small one, and ill paid too, was given him. He at last prevail'd with *Lunt* to confess, which the Papists having Intimation of, and fearing 'twou'd go hard with their Friends in the *Lancashire* Goals, if there were two Witnesses for the King against them, as there wou'd be upon *Lunt's* turning Evidence, to prevent the ill Consequences of that to their Cause, they remov'd *Dodsworth* also out of the way; he being murder'd by one *Deane*, a profess'd Jacobite. And now the Faction, who were in a Pannick, upon the Report of *Lunt's* Discoveries, grew insolent again, and depending on their Security, when there was but one Witness, they banter'd the Plot again as a State Trick, and took Occasion thence to treat the Prosecutors of it, as Knaves and Fools. *Dodsworth* had given such Satisfaction to the House of Commons by his Information, that they recommended him to his Majesty for a Reward; yet the wise Heads wou'd not give Credit to it; and those who are more jealous of their own Reputation, than of that of the Government, stand still

out

out in Defiance of this and other Evidence, of which I have, and shall take notice.

About the same time Mr. *Edward Robinson* came before *Richard Wright*, Esq; a Justice of Peace in the same County, and swore he had seen a Commission from King *James*, at Mr. *Fitzakerly's*, of *Spello-Hall* in *Lancashire*, and Arms conceal'd there; that the Lord *Molyneux's* Servant had been with King *James*, and brought a Message from him to the Conspirators; and that *John Harrington* of *Egboth*, Esq; told him he had a Captain of Horfes Commission.

Tho' it was whisper'd that *Lunt* wou'd confess, yet upon *Dodsworth's* Death, that Conspirator knowing he cou'd not merit much by it, there being no other Witness, and the Faction tampering with him to keep him tight, he chang'd his Mind, and was sent down to *Lancashire* to be try'd; but the Custom-House Officers having not mark'd his Papers taken in *Cawson's Bark*, they wou'd not swear to them; *Cawson* himself fell sick and dy'd, about the time that *Lunt's* Trial was to come on, and his Crew were all at Sea; so for want of Evidence to convict him legally, *Lunt's* Prosecution dropt, and he was discharg'd. After which he was sent by the *Lancashire* Papists, who now came out of their lurking Holes, as the Lord *Molyneux*, Col. *Molyneux*, Sir *William Garrard*, Col. *Garrard*, Mr. *Dickenson* of *Wrightington*, Mr. *Harrington* of *Heighthonhay*, Col. *Townley*, Col. *Tildefley*, Col. *Dalton*, &c. to the Court of St. *Germans*, and brought back Word from King *James*, that he was preparing for the *La*

Hogue Invasion, desiring his Friends in *Lancashire*, and other Places, to be in a Readiness. Accordingly when *Parker* came over to *England*, to negotiate that Matter, he immediately repairs to that County, and from *Mr. Walmesley's* at *Dungan-Hall*, distributed other Commissions from King *James* to the Conspirators, in the Year 1692. I shall not enter into the *Detail* of the other Jacobite Conspiracies, farther than they have Relation to that of *Lancashire*, which was the main one, and continu'd from the Beginning of the Revolution, to the grand Assassination Plot. For *Crosby*, who was taken and try'd in the Year 1693. went into *Lancashire*, to have a Meeting with *Parker*, and it was there that the Assassination Plot was resolv'd on, after the *French Fleet* was beaten off *La Hogue*, and *Granval's* Conspiracy in *Flanders* was detected. *Lunt* was sent again into *France* by the Conspirators, had Audience of the Lord *Melfort*, who referr'd him to Captain *Griffith*, and he recommended him to the Quaker *Bromfield* before mention'd, who then told him, that a Design was form'd to cut off the Prince of Orange, by any such Way or Means, as the Undertakers among themselves, when they came together, shou'd agree upon. For which he and others were to have 500*l.* a Year a-piece; and in this damnable Attempt, were engaged several *Staunch Men* as well as *Papists*, as Captain *Nowel*, *Mr. Pepper* of *Dover*, Captain *Walton* of *Foulston*, *Mr. Preston* of *Eversham*, and others. And thus we see how the Plot spreads, and every Conspiracy had its Rise from that of *Lancashire*.

Having

Having mention'd *Crosby*, I cannot but observe, that I find him in the Acquaintance of those who had distinguish'd themselves among the *High-flying Faction*, whose Practices ever since the Revolution, have shewn how much the Church of *England* is at Heart with them, by their Contrivances with Jacobites, to restore King *James* and Popery. *Crosby's* Business was to get as good Intelligence as he could of the Numbers and Strength of the Jacobites, and their Preparations for an Insurrection, as also to concert Measures for King *James's* Landing. *Crosby* was seiz'd the 9th of *May*, 1694, at one *Pugson's*, a Taylors-House in *Germinstreet*. As soon as the Messengers began to search it for Treasonable Papers, two of his female Friends flung a bundle of 'em into the House of Office ; but the Messengers, Mr. *Legat*, and Mr. *Hopkins*, were too quick for them, and recover'd 'em. *Pugson* the Taylor swore, That *Crosby* went by the Name of *Philips*, that he was going beyond Sea ; that Mr. *Simon Harcourt* us'd to bring Writings to him, and came to him immediately after Sir *James Montgomery* was taken. This Mr. *H*—t is not the same that was *Sacheverel's* Advocate, but he who was Clerk to *Jefferies*, and appear'd at the Head of Two or Three Addresses sent out of *Buckinghamshire* in the Time of the late Tory Ministry, for whom he was a violent stickler ; the same that was return'd Member in Two or Three Parliaments by Sir *J. P*——ton's Constable at *Ayles*—y, and has always born his Testimony against Revolution Principles, Acts of Settlement, the Toleration, &c. which I mention with

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Pleasure ; not so much for the Relation this Incident has to his own Person, as it concerns his Party. He will be met with in other parts of this History ; and we find besides him, in Crosby's Company, Sir James Montgomery, Bromfield the Quaker, Sir Andrew Forrester, Captain Waugh, Colonel Oglethorp, Captain Charnock, Mrs. Penelope Higgons, Colonel James Graham, Dr. Smith a Non-juring Parson, and Dr. Sherridon, the abdicated Bishop of Kilmore, with that staunch Churchman Sir John Knight of Bristol, as appears by *Pugson's* Information sworn before a Justice of Peace. In Crosby's Custody was found a Letter from Mr. Simon Har——t, Cl—— of the P—— for the County of Midd——x, ' Desiring to see Mr. Philips at his House at ' Eight that Night, and that Cousin Molly ' would let him know so much if she can, ' I have sent, says he, also to his Coffee-house to signify so much. I am, Madam, your most humble Servant,

S. Har——t.

—This Letter was directed to Mrs. Mary Jones, at Mr. *Pugson's*, over against the Coffee-house in Germin-street, and was dated the 19th of April, 1694. Mrs. Mary Jones or Cousin Molly was the same who ript open a Feather-bed at *Pugson's* when the Messenger came there, took thence a bundle of Papers and ran with them to the necessary House, as has been mention'd already. Another good staunch Man, Sir John Knight of Bristol corresponded with Crosby, alias Philips, in whose Chamber was found a Letter written by

by Sir John to Mr. Symon Hartcourt, desiring him to tell Mr. Philips, that he had very earnest Business with him, and must of necessity speak with him at Harcourt's House, at his first leisure. This Letter was dated the 2d of April, 1694, and in it were several rude Reflections on King William and the Government. The face of these Letters is very gloomy; the Purport of 'em is to desire a Meeting with a notorious Traytor, and a Circumstance of Crosby's Apprehension adds to our Speculations, for he was taken knocking at Mr. Harcourt's Door in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields* about a 11 at Night.

I must confess, when I call to mind how dear these Men were to our late Managers, how busy at the Turn of Affairs Four Years ago, how powerful in their Interest at Court ever since, till the last glorious Turn, 'tis with delight that I find them herding with Jacobite Conspirators, since it confirms the Judgment I always made of them and their Managers, that whatever their Pretences were, King James was always at the bottom; not out of any Respect to the Person of that poor abdicated Prince, or out of any conscientious Preference of his Title to King William's, but purely to get themselves into Places and Power, to persecute and plunder their Neighbours, to enrich and aggrandize themselves; tho' they sacrific'd the Religion and Liberty of their Country to their Covetousness and Pride.

Another Letter was found among Crosby's Papers, desiring to speak with Mr. Philips before he took his Journey, and Sign'd, Cl——n.
Two

Two others from Colonel *Tempest*, and the Lord *Molyneux*, full of Myſterious Treason, was found in his Chamber, and one in his Pocket when he was taken at Mr. *Har* — —'s Door, directed to the abdicated Queen *Mary*, written in his own Hand, containing Professions of his Zeal in the Service of King *James*. I shall not trouble the Reader with any more Letters of this kind, seiz'd at the same Time, but cannot help informing him with the Contents of Two Papers or *Schemes* of his, taken at *Pugson's*; the first was address'd to my Lord *Middleton*, under the Name of Mr. *Toncroft*, and contain'd a false Representation of the ill Posture of King *William's* Affairs, of the Divisions and Grievances of the Nation, to tempt the *French King* to take hold [of that Juncture to invade us. The Second propos'd the Number of Forces to be sent to conquer us, 30000 *French Men*, to be join'd by 5000 *Foot*, and 1500 *Horse*, all form'd Troops in England. I shall give the Reader the latter Part of this Scheme, as I find it in

A Paper printed and publish'd by Abel Roper, in the Year 1698.

‘ **I** N our Opinion *Bristol* is the properest Place for a Descent, it being a great Town, well affected to his Majesty, lying in the Heart of the Kingdom; and that the Counties about it are capable to furnish all Necessaries for such an Army as he shall think fit to bring; besides a great many other Advantages which have been already explained to you (Lord *Middleton*) and upon

upon a Descent in that Place, his Majesty may depend upon a great Concurrence of the Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry from the adjacent Counties, Cities and Towns; *Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Monmouthshire*, will move with the D— of B—rt, Mar—fs of *Worcester*, his Son, and my Lord N—ry, who immediately upon the King's Direction to them, will change the Lieutenancy of those Counties, and bring the whole Militia into the King, as is concerted and agreed upon.

North Wales, and *South Wales* are honest, and will be influenc'd by the D— of B—rt, &c. It is concerted there among the chief Gentry, that those who were in the Lieutenancy in the late King's Time, will re-assume their Posts as before, upon his Landing, and bring the whole Militia to joyn him, as will be further explained to you by the Person that conveys this to you.

The Gentry of *Dorsetshire* are the same, particularly the Towns of *Dorchester* and *Weymouth*.

Somersetshire will be altogether influenced by my Lord P—t, Lord Bishop of B. and W. Sir Fr—s W—r, Sir Ha—ll T—t, Sir W—m P—n, Mr. A—ll, Mr. L—y, Mr. St—d, who have concerted immediately upon the King's Landing, to call all the Gentry of the County together, and prevent them from raising the Militia, and upon his Majesty's Directions will re-assume their Places as before, when his Majesty was upon the Throne.

Whe-

Whether this Paper was really the Sense of those High Church Champions, or was invented by the Conspirators at London, only to tempt the French King to send King James hither, I will not dispute. I give it only on the Authority of *Abel*, their Friend and Historian, that it is *Crosby's* genuine Paper, I doubt not, and if any Body is touch'd by it, let them shew their Resentment against that Tory Newsmonger, from whose printed Copy I took it. This at least we may observe, that the Conspirators flatter'd themselves with hopes of Friendship and Assistance from all that were Enemies to the Whigs; and the Reader will meet with the Names at length of most of these *Initials* among the *Voters* against the *Revolution*, against the *Association*, against the War with *France*, for the *Tack*, for the *Occasional Bill*; among the *Addressees* about *Hereditary Right*; among the *Voters* against the *Protestant Succession* in the Case of the *Abjuration Clause*; among the late *Managers*, and in the *Two last Parliaments*. All of the Persons here hinted at, who have been Members of Parliament since the *Abdication*, will be found in some or all of those Lists; and we may by that judge on very good Grounds, what hearty Friends they were to King *William*, and the *Protestant Succession*. I proceed now with the Scheme in the Words of *Crosby's* Paper.

‘ From *Devonshire* his Majesty will be joyn'd
 ‘ by the honourable *J. Gr——ll*, Sir *Ed——*
 ‘ *S——r*, Sir *Bo—— W——y*, Sir *Sy——*
 ‘ *Le——k*, Sir *P—— Co——n*, who have
 ‘ great Interest in that County.

It is generally thought that the last Gentle-
 man intended by these Letters, Sir *Peter Col-*
linton, was put in out of pure Malice, for his
 known aversion to the Cause in which the
 Conspirators lifted him; for tho' Sir *P*—
 was one of those who were not rewarded ac-
 cording to their Deserts, for their Affection
 and Services to the Government, yet he was
 always zealous for its Preservation; and *Abel*
 felt the Weight of his Resentment on his
 shoulders, for the Knight finding his Mark
 in such ill Company, came to *Roper's*
 shop, and asking for the Book with this List
 it; upon seeing it, he demanded of *Abel*
 who was meant by Sir *P*— *Co*—*n*, and
 that excellent and impartial Historian reply-
 ing very frankly Sir *Peter Colliton*, the Baro-
 net gave him due Correction, and by his Cane
 made him acquainted with his Person and
 principles, of which he was as Ignorant, as
 of the Merit of all the illustrious Heroes and
 Patriots, whom in the Cause of High Church
 he so plentifully abus'd, under the Protection
 of the late Ministry, by whom he had a Place
 given him in the Secretary's Office, for the
 pains he took to vilify those Ministers whom
 they most unworthily succeeded. How *A*-
 well deserv'd of the Faction further, we shall
 see in the Scheme he publish'd, which is thus
 continu'd.

' From *Cornwall* his Majesty will be joyn'd
 by my Lord *Ar*—*l* of *Tr*—*e*, Lord
Mo—*n*, Captain *Mo*—*n* his Uncle,
 Lord *L*—*n*, Lord Bishop of *E*—*r*, Sir
W—*Co*—*n*, Sir *J*—*Ar*—*l*,
 Sir *Jos. Tr*—*m*, Sir *W*—*m*
 ' *Jo*—*n*

' Jo——n, Sir J. St. A——n, Sir
 ' J——n M——h, Sir J. A——y. In a
 ' Word, that whole County is honest, and
 ' intirely devoted to the King; but particu-
 ' larly the *Miners*, who are chiefly influenc'd
 ' by Sir J——n St. Au——n, J. K——p
 ' H. T——n, J. K——n, Hen. Vi——t, who
 ' may bring together a Body of 8 or 9000 of
 ' them to joyn the King upon an Occasion
 ' and if mix'd with some regular Troops
 ' and headed by a good Officer, wou'd settle
 ' that part of the Country for the King; the
 ' Freeholders there are tired with Taxes, no
 ' Fish taken, Tin low, scarce worth work-
 ' ing; Wool and Yarn very low; so that
 ' some particular Promises and Assurances to
 ' that County wou'd have great Effects among
 ' the Tin Miners, that it should be his
 ' Majesty's particular Care to enhaunce the
 ' Price of that Commodity, &c. which since
 ' his Time is fall'n from 4*l.* to 50*s.* at
 ' which Price 'tis now,

The falshood of the Fact, and the Sophis-
 try of the Argument are of a Piece. *Cornwall*
 and especially the Miners, were ever in the
 true Interest of their Country. I remember
 the Rhime that ran among them when Bi-
 shop *Trelawny*, their Country-man, was sent
 to the Tower with Six other Bishops, for re-
 fusing to obey the Injunctions of this Popish
 King.

——— And shall Trelawny die?

There's Forty Thousand under Ground,
 Will know the Reason why.

'Twas

'Twas very likely that these Jacobites wou'd encourage the Tin and Woollen Trades: We saw by their Management in the Treaty of *Utrecht*, what a Concern they have for the Trade of the Nation, which never was, nor ever will be in the Jacobite or Tory Interest; for Trade can never flourish but with Liberty, and Liberty and Jacobitism, or Torism are incompatible. The Scheme continues thus:

' *Wiltshire* will move with my Lord *We—*
' *—h*, and *A—y*. From *Shropshire* the
' King may expect to be joyn'd by most of the
' Gentlemen. The City of *Shrewsbury* is honest. From *Warwickshire* by my Lord
' *Fe—s*, Lord *Br—*, Lord *L—h*,
' Lord *D—h*, Lord *D—y*, who
' with those that have been in the Lieutenancy, will re-assume their Posts, and bring
' the Militia of that County to joyn the King.
' *Northamptonshire*, Lord *E—e*, who has
' lately offer'd the King he will come at the
' Head of 3000 Horse, with the chief Gentry of the Country to joyn him; Lord
' *Gr—n* and his Son. *Derbyshire* and *Leicester*
' *shire* by Lord *C—d*, Lord *H—n*,
' Lord *R—d*, Lord *S—le*, who will in
' that County, as in others, re-assume the
' Lieutenancy upon the King's Direction, and
' make it serviceable to his Majesty.

'Tis very plain the Jacobites drew the French Court into all the Attempts they have undertaken for their abdicated King, and his pretended Son, by Misinformations and vain Promises of Assistance here; for tho' probably some of those *High-fliers* markt out by the

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first

first and last Letters of their Names, wou'd have been glad to have had King James again to get into Places by it, yet they had not the Zeal nor the Courage to venture their Lives and Estates, by entering into a Conspiracy with Wretches of such desperate Fortunes, and infamous Characters, as Crosby, Charnock, Porter, Goodman, and the Managers of the Jacobite Plots. Besides, they knew full well that 'twas not in their Power to engage even their own Tenants and Dependants to joyn with the French, and that their Interest wou'd be lost as soon as their Designs were known, not one in Twenty of the People of any County in England having ever been a Jacobite. But to go on with the Scheme.

'Cheshire, Sir F. E----n, Sir P. E----n, Mr. C----y of V----ch---ll, Mr. Robert Ch----y of H----d, Sir W----m M----ll, Mr. Ar----n, Mr. M----ll, Mr. Lo----s, M----r B-----b, Colonel M----ll, Mr. Fr-----lls, Mr. Br-----ks of Norton, Sir T. S-----ley, with a great many of the Clergy, and City of Chester.

'Oxfordshire, Lord A----n, Lord N---- his Son, Lord L----d, Sir T. Cl-----gis, Sir W---- his Son, Lord T-----t, the Honourable Henry B----, Sir E. N----s, Sir E. R----d, Sir William Williams

'Lincolnshire by the Earl of L----'s Brother, and the greatest part of the County.

The Scheme-makers take upon them to tell King James further, 'It is most certain, that while the King's Western Forces are employed, his Northern Friends, and those in London will not be idle, if his Majesty will
'but

but send them Directions. There are actually in the North above 4000 Men listed. Now, where were those Men listed, if not in Lancashire? And can any one doubt but these Forces were the same we have already been speaking of, to be privately levy'd in that County Palatine, and as the Scheme informs us, *They were all ready to march, and you'd be headed by Men of great Consideration; of this his Majesty has particular Assurance, and a true State of those Parts before him.* Again, *The moment he lands, Carlisle and Newcastle will be put into his Hands, Falmouth we are sure of, and are in Treaty with the Deputy Governour for Plymouth.* What follows, shews at least that the *Jacobites* depended always on the Assistance of the *High-flying Clergy*; *Five Hundred of the inferior Clergy, say they in their Scheme, will joyn the King upon his landing, which will greatly influence the Nation.* Whether this Paper was *Crosby's* own, or the Sense of all the traiterous Faction, to be communicated to King *James* by him, I shall not dispute: 'Tis sufficient that 'twas found among his Papers, to prove what were the Designs and Sentiments of himself and his Accomplices. The *Jacobites* were wont indeed to give the *French* Court and King *James*, false Informations of their Numbers and Strength to keep up their Spirits, and prevent their giving the Cause over for lost. The Management of their Scheme in *France*, is recommended in the Paper to the Lord *Middleton*, the Earl of *Melfort*, and Col. *Carryl*; and it is not to be omitted, that one of the main Encouragements these Traytors gave the *French*

King to send King *James* with an Army to invade us, was the *Discontents of the People*. The same Tone are *Lesley* and the Faction in at present. 'Tis true, the *English* Nation have endeavour'd to make themselves as uneasy as they cou'd in all Times, and the Humour has ran pretty high since the Revolution but let them be as discontented as they will with one another, they never were, and never will be in love with the *French*, whom upon Tryal they will jointly fall upon as the *Common Enemy*. The Scheme-maker adds *Two Parts in Three of the Commonalty are against the Government, as many of the Gentry, and half the Nobility*. Tho' these Traytors ly'd abominably in this Assertion, yet a later *Jacobite*, the Examiner, was not content with this *Estimate*, but makes the *Party* to be the *Nine in Ten*. The falsity of which is apparent in the late Elections.

There was another Paper found in *Crosby's* Lodgings, containing more Reasons for the *French King's* making an Attempt to restore the King. I shall take notice of the most remarkable, and such as shew us with what Views the *Tories* acted in King *William's* Reign. The Author, or Authors, say, *The Temper of the Nation inclines, and bends to a Revolution, as appears, 1st, By the Divisions in the House, where Men of the greatest Interest still divide against the Court. 2dly, By the delays of the House in giving Supplies. 3dly, By the slowness to condemn State Criminals.* Here the *Jacobites* make the danger of the Government to arise from the same Cause as was alledg'd by its Friends, too much Lenity. Its Enemies

up-

upbraided it with Timoroufness, as being conscious of its weakness, and this spirited them in all the Opposition they gave it. If we should again run into the like Error, I wish it may never be in their Power to do worse by us than upbraid us.

There was one *Anselm*, a Secretary aboard the Fleet, when *Delaval* and *Killigrew* commanded it, and this Man held Intelligence with *Crosby*, as appears by a Letter to him from the latter, dated *May 5, 1694*, and sign'd by the Name of *Philips*, telling him he *must needs see him before he went to France*.

I proceed now to enter a little more particularly into the Examination of the Evidence, in case of the *Lancashire Plot*, which was first discover'd by *Lunt*, and a large Deposition given of it before Sir *John Trenchard*, then Secretary of State, the substance of which being the same as I have already related, I shall not repeat it, but the Deposition it self may be easily produc'd, if the truth of the Fact is suspected. He further depos'd, that while he was an Agent for King *James*, he helpt several *Jacobites* over to France, and that generally Sir *John Friend* furnish'd Money for those Expeditions, and paid Subsistence Money to the list'd Men, yet how did the Faction cry out against the hardship of that Man's suffering? How Innocent was he? And how deserving of the Absolution conferr'd on him at the Gallows by Three High-flying Parsons. *George Wilson*, of *Red-land* in *Lancashire*, depos'd before Sir *John Trenchard*, that he had harbour'd the Quaker *Bromfield*, and had help'd him to make his escape, which being

known, Warrants were issu'd out against him, and he was forc'd to conceal himself for some Time, which he did in the Houses of the Lord *Molyneux*, Mr. *Tildesley*, Mr. *Standish*, Sir *Rowland Stanley*, Sir *James Pool*, Sir *William Gerrard*, Mr. *Townley*, and others, that he was at Mr. *Tildesley's* when *Thrilsal* came from *Ireland* with the Commissions and Declarations for the Gentlemen of *Yorkshire*, *Lancashire*, *Cheshire*, *Staffordshire*; and that he was *Lunt's* Guide when he went about *Lancashire*, to deliver them to the Conspirators. He swears to the delivery of Commissions to Mr. *Tildesley*, the Lord *Molyneux*, Mr. *William Molyneux*, Mr. *William Gerrard*, &c. that he himself was employ'd by Mr. *Walmsley*, to list Men for King *James*, and had Money from Captain *Penny*, and Mr. *Standish* of *Standish* for their Subsistence; that he knew of *Lunt's* listing Men in *London*, and sending them down to *Lancashire*; and of the buying of Arms. As to the buying of Arms in *London*, and carrying them into *Lancashire*, by Order of Mr. *Townley*, Mr. *Standish*, Colonel *Parker*, and others, that was depos'd by the Carrier himself, *John Womball*, of *Wiggan-lane*, whom one *Green* gave Information of to the Earl of *Macclesfield*, Lord Lieutenant of the County and the Earl ordering one of his Boxes to be seiz'd, found it full of Arms. There had been several Boxes more seiz'd, with proper Directions to whom they shou'd have been deliver'd; but such was the Intelligence and Diligence of the *Jacobites*, that those Boxes were stop'd at *Litchfield*, as they were on the Road, and never came forward to *Lancashire*.

Womball

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Womball swore he deliver'd Boxes of Arms to Mr. *Standish*, Mr. *Tildesly*, Mr. *Ashton*, Mr. *Stamford*, Mr. *Dickenson*, and sufficient for 1000 Horsemen. Notwithstanding this Man's Affidavit, and the Affidavit of several others, charging the *Lancashire* Plotters home with the taking Commissions from King *James*, lifting of Men, and buying of Arms, yet the very wise and cautious of believing, even of some of the Friends to the Constitution, make a jest of this Conspiracy, because none of the Conspirators were hang'd. There were great Quantities of Arms found in the House of Mr. *Standish*, and others, tho' Mrs. *Standish* told Captain *Baker* when he came with the King's Messengers to search, *he might have sav'd himself the trouble, for they had notice from London of his coming Ten Days before.* However, Captain *Baker* and the Messengers found wall'd up in an upper Room,

Thirty Two War Saddles, furnish'd with Breast-Plates, Cruppers, Girts, and all other Necessaries for Troopers Saddles.

Forty New Curb Bridles.

Sixty New Ammunition Horse-mens Swords, with a great bunch of Swivels for Carbines.

Was here no ground of Suspicion, that Mr. *Standish*, whose Estate was small and incumber'd, shou'd not have got such a store of Arms purely to mount himself and his Domestick Equipage? Had not the Government good Reason to seize him upon this Discovery, having also receiv'd Information before of the share he had in the Conspiracy? Here are Arms to mount a Troop of Papists, but what

a cruel Thing it was for the Magistrates to give any trouble to the Man that had then King *James's* Commission in his Custody? At Mr. *Tildesley's* was found by Mr. *Sutton* the Messenger, a great quantity of Embroider'd Housings and Holster Caps, behind a Wainscot wall'd up with Bricks, and an old Commission of King *James*. But 'twas a hard Case that the Government wou'd not let him be quiet in his House, that he shou'd be oblig'd by their cruel Persecution to fly his Country. He had receiv'd a New Commission from King *James*, as was sworn by *Lunt* and *Wombal*, and being advis'd by Mr. *Dalton* on discovery of the Plot to burn it, *He said he wou'd burn himself first*; which was attested by Mr. *Dodsworth*. At Mr. *Massey's*, of *Puddington*, in *Cheshire*, were found in a Chest cover'd over with an old long Pillow, 9 New Dragoon Saddles, with all proper Furniture. These, and other Discoveries being made, as many of the Conspirators as cou'd be apprehended were imprison'd, and some of them soon after sent up to *London*, where they were examin'd, and afterwards committed to the *Tower* and *Newgate*. There was no want of Evidence to accuse them, as has been shewn already, and therefore the only Card they had to play, was to buy off as many as they cou'd of the King's Witnesses, and suborn others of their own. One *Clayton* and *Brown*, *Hearst* and *Elliot*, were tempted to forswear themselves, to invalidate the King's Evidence, but they refus'd it. The Conspirators were more successful in their Attempts on one *Tasse*, who had been a Conspirator, one

one of the first Discoverers of the Conspiracy, and instrumental in procuring *Lunt's* discovery, himself introducing him to the Earl of *Bellemont*, when he came from *France* last, with a design of discovering what he knew of the Conspiracy against the Government. *Taffe* went with *Lunt* from my Lord *Bellemont's* to the Secretary's Office, heard his Examination, and was one of the most zealous Agents in the Management of the discovery of this Plot; he accompany'd the Messengers in their searches for Arms at *Standish-hall*, and other Places: But his Zeal was found out by them to be worse than Mercenary, for under pretence of searching for Arms, he stole a Silver Chalice, and other Goods from Mr. *Hesketh*, a Priest, near *Preston* in *Lancashire*, but Captain *Baker*, before mention'd, oblig'd him to restore them; from Mr. *Molyneux's* he stole Money, another Silver Chalice, an Altar Cloth, and other Goods, which Mr. *Morrison* the Messenger forc'd him, tho' very unwilling, to restore as he had done the Priest's. It appearing therefore, that this *Tory's* Design was only thieving and pilfering, the King's Solicitor, Mr. *Aaron Smith*, and Mr. *Baker* slighted him, and he in resentment resolv'd to make his Market with the *Jacobites*. Nevertheless, when he return'd to *London*, he apply'd again to the Earl of *Bellemont*, and gave him an Account of the great Discoveries that had been made in *Lancashire*; the Earl ask'd him, if what *Lunt* had sworn was true, and he answer'd it was, made still great Professions of Zeal in the further Detection of this Conspiracy, and insisted

sifted much on a Reward for what he had already done ; but Mr. *Smith* and Mr. *Baker* having inform'd the Ministry how scandalously he had behav'd himself in the Country, he came short of the large Sums he expected, upon which he grew more angry, and vow'd he *wou'd spoil the Plot*. Accordingly he applies himself to one *Wybrand*, that by his means he might have access to Mr. *Leigh* of *Lyme*, who was in Prison for the Conspiracy: *Wybrand* ask'd him if there were really any Witnesses against the Conspirators, and *Taffe*, as *Wybrand* depos'd, reply'd, *there was Evidence enough to hang them all*. *Wybrand* not giving him sufficient Encouragement, he makes his Application to Mrs. *Dickenson*, the Wife of another of the Conspirators, a cunning, intriguing Woman, and she takes him into their Service. Twenty Pounds was paid him down, as was sworn before the House of Lords, and an Annuity promis'd to be settl'd on him, secur'd on an Estate in *Lancashire*, upon which he renounces any knowledge of the Plot, and sets up for the prime Witness for the Prisoners.

There were Witnesses enough to the Truth of this Fellow's Conduct ; yet on the Credit of such a Thief depends all that was objected to the Evidence of the *Lancashire Plot*. *Ferguson* was employ'd to write in the Defence of the Plotters, and the Conspiracy was so misrepresented by the Enemies of the Government to the People in the Country, that before the Conspirators were brought to their Trial, the King's Witnesses were threaten'd to be ston'd. When the Trial came on, they had
much

IV. al-kerous he'd ap-his of cy: any ffe, vi-gi-kes ife in-ir yn, nd se-ch nd o-th lit ed er-of e-nt re al, be ad ch

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much ado to get safely in and out of Court, a Popish Mob at *Manchester* being encourag'd by the Tories to insult them. They gave their Evidence however very clearly and positively, most of which has been before related. There were ten or a dozen Evidences of several Branches of the Conspiracy, and the Conspirators made a very weak and trifling Defence, all but Mr. *Dickenson*, who by the Help of his Wife, made the best of his very bad Cause. *Taffe* swore that *Lunt* and he contriv'd the Plot, and this was very much hearken'd to by the Tories, tho' it was prov'd that *Taffe* had not any Knowledge of *Lunt's* being engag'd in the Conspiracy, till *May*, 1694. And the Plot was prov'd to have commenc'd, as is shewn in the preceding Paper, immediately after the Revolution. Upon hearing of *Taffe's* Evidence, Sir *William Williams*, then King's Council, sat down in the Court, and wou'd examine no more Witnesses against the Prisoners, giving up the Cause at once, tho' there were many unexamined, as well to *Taffe's* infamous Character, as the Plot it self. And this Proceeding of Sir *William's* so animated the Papists, so influenc'd the Jury, that 'twas in vain to proceed further in a Trial, where the Council for the King declar'd he had no more to say for it. Nay, so far did Sir *William* act the Part of an Advocate for the Conspirators, that as soon as the Court broke up, he posted to *London*, and represented the King's Witnesses in such odious Colours, as Forgers of a Plot, to destroy many Gentlemen of Worth and Fortune, that the Scene was shifted, and those

those Witnesses had the Plot turn'd upon them, being order'd to be indicted for the Forgery in the King's Bench. When Mr. Leigh of Lyme, came upon his Trial at Chester, the Popish and Tory Mob were so outrageous, that they threaten'd to murder not only the Witnesses, but Mr. Smith, and Mr. Baker, who were forc'd to make their Escape as privately as they could out of the Town, and upon Mr. Leigh's being clear'd, the Deputy-Governor, a Tory, was so insolent, as to order the Guns of the Castle to be fir'd. So sure were the Lancashire Papists of coming off with Honour in this Affair, by the Help of Sir William Williams, and their Tory Friends, that they brought it into the House of Commons. Mr. Standish of Standish, having the Assurance to come up to Town, and sollicite for his Brother Conspirators in the Country. But after all the before-mention'd and other Evidence had been heard at the Bar of the House, with respect to the delivering of Commissions, the lifting of Men, the buying of Horse and Arms, &c. The Matter was determin'd there in this manner:

On Wednesday the 6th of February, 1694. according to the Order of the Day, the House proceeded further in reading the Informations and Papers deliver'd into the House by Mr. Aaron Smith, touching the late Proceedings and Trials in Lancashire and Cheshire, and Mr. Lunt's Information was read through, and also Mr. Wilson's, and Mr. Wombal's Information; and the other Papers deliver'd into the House by Mr. Aaron Smith, were also read, among which were several printed Papers. And it was then

Resolved,

That

That it does appear to this House, that there was sufficient Ground for the Prosecution and Trials of the Gentlemen at Manchester.

Resolved,

That upon the Informations and Examinations before this House, it does appear there was a dangerous Plot carried on against the King and Government.

They also order'd Mr. *Standish* to be taken into Custody, but he made his Escape, and the House was so sensible of his Guilt, that they address'd his Majesty to issue out *His Royal Proclamation for the Apprehending of Mr. Standish*, who fled to *France*; his Flight reviv'd the Credit of the Plot, which was as well prov'd as Plot ever was; the House of Lords came to the same Resolution as the House of Commons, and the King's Witnesses, after much Persecution from the Papists and Tories, having nothing produc'd in Evidence against them, were discharg'd, the Attorney-General promising to pay their Costs. The Council for the Popish Gentlemen against them were, Sir *Bartholomew Shower*, Mr. *Harcourt*, &c. And Mr. *Simon Harcourt*, late a Member for *A—l—y*, was very busy in the Prosecution of them, which proves how steady he has always been in his Anti-revolution Principles, and that he was the same Man, when the *Lancashire* Plotters were in Danger, as when the late Managers made him one of their Tools and Creatures. If there remains the least Doubt that there was a Conspiracy in *Lancashire* against the Government, between the Year 1689 and 1693, after what has been said of it in this Relation,

on, what *Satisfaction* can we give to such incredulous Scepticks? And is it worth any one's while to produce further Evidence, after such has been reported, as satisfy'd the Lords and Commons of *England* assembled in Parliament? What a good Opinion must that Man have of himself, who thinks himself wiser than the *Representatives* of the Nation? And he who makes a Jest now of this Plot to dethrone King *William*, wou'd surely be as merry and as well satisfied, if the Plot had succeeded. We shall find the Tories in all dirty Work of this kind. One of the late Managers is an Advocate for the Plotters, and one of the late Members of Parliament an Agent. Let them be what they will otherwise, this must be said for them, they are each of 'em *Semper Idem*, and I despair of their ever changing as long as there is a Pretender left to support the Faction.

I shall not conclude this Article of Conspiracies, before I have made a few other Observations on a Circumstance or Two of that of the Assassination. Some People doubt whether King *James* knew of *Barclay* and *Charnock's* Plot, but surely they never read the Journals of Parliament, of the 2d of *April*, 1696. by which it appears that Sir *William Parkyns* confess'd to a Committee of the House of Commons, that King *James* sent over a Commission by Sir *George Barclay*, to seize King *William*, and that it was all written with his own Hand, the same Porter swore in *Parkyns's* Tryal. If they could not seize him, they were commission'd to levy War on him, to attack him in his Winter-Quarters, which

Phrases

Phrases are softer, 'tis true, than *murdering*, but have all the same bloody meaning; it being ridiculous to grant a Commission to seize the King, surrounded by his Guards, and carry him off through a Country entirely at his Devotion, without Assassinating him.

I must here take the Liberty to transgress a little upon Chronology, and look backwards Four or Five Years, when the Convention Parliament was dissolv'd, at the Instigation of Tory Counsellors, and a new one Chosen. The *Faction* then publish'd the following Queries, with an Intention to set the Nation against King *William's* best Friends, and prevent their being elected Members in the ensuing Parliament. I print this Paper, to shew them that the Contents of it are so far from being thought a Reflection, by Men of Revolution Principles, that they will be all ready to own, and glory in the greatest part of the Charge, stript of the ill glosses the Malice of the Tories puts upon it. No good *Britain* will be asham'd of appearing in this Tory black List, of Members who voted for incapacitating those Magistrates, and others of Corporations, that had been Instruments of King *James's* Tyranny, to be admitted into Places of Trust and Profit. Such an Act pass'd in *Scotland*, but the same evil Counsellors hinder'd its having the Royal Assent. The Reader will see here how early the *Faction* began to insinuate, that the *Whigs* were for imposing Presbytery, and a Commonwealth upon the Nation; tho' there was not a Whig in *England* who wou'd not have preferred King *William* to the best Republick in the

the World, and the worst Republick to King James, and tho' Nineteen Parts in Twenty of this List were good Churchmen.

QUERIES publish'd by the Tories upon the Dissolution of the Convention Parliament, and calling another in the Year 1690.

1. **W**HETHER the King hath not lately by Actions, as well as Promises declar'd himself for the Interest of the Church of *England*; and whether those Republicans who have always made it their Business to libel Kings, can more effectually abuse his present Majesty, than in traducing him as their Friend, and in using, as heretofore, the King's Name against his Design and Interest.

2. Whether those are true to the Interest of that Church, who endeavour'd in the last Session to incapacitate some of the best Members of it; and who were so far from granting that Amnesty which the King desir'd and propos'd, that they carried their Fury back to more than one preceeding Reign, and set aside all Acts of Indemnity, but that, which most of them need, in the Year 1660?

3. Whether, since the Dissenters do now desire a Toleration for themselves, which we have already granted, but openly threaten and pursue their Revenge on us, it is not necessary that these apparent Dangers, at least, should awaken us out of our Lethargy; and whether the Negligence of the Church of *England*, which on like Occasions here-

heretofore, was thought the result of Pity and good Nature, would not now be esteem'd the effect of Cowardice and Stupidity?

4. Whether those Gentlemen of the Sword, who have Offices in *Ireland*, would not be better employ'd in a Council of War than a Senate-House? Whether, if they think it convenient, it would not be proper for them to make one Visit to the *Remains* of their Regiments there, and to contribute by some other means to the Reducing that Kingdom, than by *giving Taxes*?

5. Whether those restless Fanaticks, who have been bred up in Rebellion, and have always since been active Promoters of Sedition, ought not in Conscience, to desist now, and to be contented with the *single* Glory of having *once* ruin'd this Kingdom?

6. Whether those Worthy Gentlemen have been justly expos'd, in a late impudent Pamphlet, that were more hasty for sending a *speedy Relief* into *Ireland*, than for changing the Right of Succession in an Hereditary Kingdom? and whether they may not possibly deserve a Place again in the House, tho' they thought it more expedient for this Nation to beat King *James* out of that *One* Kingdom, than to vote his Daughter out of *Three*?

7. Whether the King be not sensible, that most of those hasty Abdicators did not change the Succession out of kindness to him, but out of a farther Design of bringing in a Commonwealth, or, in other words, of making this an elective, and precarious Monarchy?

8. Whether the Temper of those excellent Members deserves Censure, who have pro-

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moted a general Pardon, and in that an Universal Quiet and Satisfaction; and who were not very active in suspending the Bishops, *unwhipping Oats*, and in excepting every Body out of the *No-Act* of Indemnity?

9. Whether any Man can justly stand recommended to your Choice, by no other Advantages than those of an old Treason, and a long Exile for it? And whether one may reasonably be thought to have improv'd his Crime into Vertue, and to become a *Patriot* of his Country, by being *Out-law'd* into *Holland*?

10. Whether such Men as these may not possibly be Factors for *Geneva* and *Amsterdam*, and more mindful of their late Fellow-Burghers than their old Country-men; and whether their frequent Protestation, That they are *true Englishmen*, would not convince the greatest Sceptick, (if he understands their veracity) That they are *not* so.

11. Whether our good Brethren the *Dutch*, according to their usual kindness, would not, in all probability, have forbore to arrest us for their Debt, till the Conquest of *Ireland* had put us in a Capacity of repaying them? and whether those Men, who in the absence of most of the Members, gave 600000 *l.* to the *Dutch*, did not more consider their own good Will to the Creditors, than our Ability?

He means
Sir R. Nudigate,
also Sir R.
Cotton, of
Cheshire.

12. Whether it was not a strange Instance of Justice, in a Knight of the Shire, to move for a new Assessment of his own County? and whether if the County do not choose him again, they will not demonstratively shew, that they have more kindness for their Money than their Representative?

13. Whe-

13. Whether there ever was a better Parliament in General, than that of King *James the Second*? and whether any Body would approve the Re-election of those worthy Members, who do not wish for a new *Monmouth*, and another *Argyle*?

14. Whether many honest Gentlemen, of Nice Principles, did not desist from standing at the last Election, as having raised more Scruples to themselves than they cou'd easily answer; and therefore not hoping to untie the *Gordian Knot*, put it for once into the Hands of those Men who could effectually cut it? And whether now these Gentlemen will not be concern'd to redeem their neglect, and the more diligently to avert the blow, by how much the less careful they were to prevent the stroke?

15. Whether the Clergy of the C. of E. are not concern'd to be as diligent against Fanaticism now, as of late against Popery; at least, such of them as have a greater Respect for Pulpits and Chappels, than for Tubs and Barns?

16. Whether if those Men who were incapacitated for procuring or consenting to Surrenders, shall again Vote for their Judges, they will not give a signal Instance of their forgiving humour, and shew to the World, that they have a great share of good *Nature*, though perhaps not an equal portion of *Sense*?

17. Whether it would not be Heroick for all those Publick-spirited Gentlemen, to take up Mr. *Sacheverell's* Resolution, of never standing again till they can be chosen by *honest Regulators only*?

18. Whether the incapacitating Clause was not brought into the House by Mr. Sacheverell, and whether the following List be not a true Account of those that seconded him in it?

Be it Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That every Mayor, Recorder, Alderman, Steward, Sheriff, Common-Council-man, Town-Clerk, Magistrate, or Officer; who did take upon him to consent to, or joyn in, any such Surrender, or Instrument purporting such Surrender as aforesaid; or did solicit, procure, prosecute, or did pay or contribute to the charge of prosecuting any Scire facias, Quo Warranto, or Information in the nature of Quo Warranto, by this Act declared void, shall be, and is declared, adjudged, and Enacted to be for the space of seven Years incapable, and disabled to all Intents and Purposes, to bear, or execute any Office, Employment, or Place of Trust, as a Member of such respective Body Corporate, or in, or for such respective City, Town, Burgh, or Cinque Port, whereof, or wherein he was a Member, at, or before the Time of making such Surrender, or Instrument purporting such Surrender, or the suing out, or prosecuting such Scire facias, Quo Warranto, or Information in nature of Quo Warranto, any Thing in this Act contained, or any other Case, Statute, or any Ordinance, Charter, Custom, or any Thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

A LIST of all those Worthy Members
of Parliament who voted for a Clause
to Incapacitate all Surrenderers of
Charters from having any Place of
Trust in Corporations, A. D. 1690.

Bedfordshire.

Cheshire.

The Hon. Edward Ruf- Sir Robert Cotton, Kt.
sel, Esq; and Bar.

William Duncombe, Esq; John Manwayring, Esq;
Roger Whitley, Esq;

Barkshire.

Sir Henry Winchcombe,
Bar,

Cornwall.

Hugh Boscawen, Esq;
Henry Powle, Esq; William Harbord, Esq;

Sir Algernoon May, Kt. Edward Russel, Esq;

Sir William Rich, Bar, Sir Henry Ashurst, Kt.

Sir Henry Fane, Knight Anthony Rowe, Esq;
of the Bath Hugh Fortescue, Esq;

Thomas Tipping, Esq; Robert Harley, Esq;

Sir Peter Colleton, Bar.

Buckinghamshire.

Jonathan Prideaux, Esq;

The Hon. Thomas Whar-
ton, Esq;

Cumberland.

Sir Thomas Lee, Bar. Sir John Lowther of

Thomas Lewes, Esq; Whitehaven, Bar.

William Jephson, Esq; Sir Henry Capell, Kt.

Sir William Drake, Kt. Sir Philip Gell, Bar.

Richard Hampden, Esq; The Hon. Anchitell

John Hampden, Esq; Gray, Esq;

Cambridgeshire.

Devonshire.

Isaac Newton, Magist. Sir George Treby, Kt.

Art.

The Hon. Robert Russel,

Esq; N 3 Sir

Sir Francis Drake, Bar. Sir Charles Cesar, Kt.
 Sir Walter Younge, Bar. Sir Will. Comper, Bar.
 Thomas Reynell, Esq; Sir Thomas Byde, Kt.
 John Elwell, Esq;
 Samuel Foote, Esq;

Huntingtonshire.

Dorsetshire.

Henry Trenchard, Esq;
 Thomas Trenchard, Esq;
 John Burridge, Esq;

The Hon. Sidney Wort-
 ley, aliàs Mountague,
 Esq;

Kent.

Sir John Morton, Bar.
 John Manly, Senior, Esq;
 Sir Matt. Andrews, Kt.

The Hon. Sir Vere
 Fane, Kt. of the Bath.

Sir John Knatchbull, Bar.
 Sir Will. Honywood, Bar.
 Henry Lee, Esq;

Essex.

Henry Mildmay, Esq;
 Isaac Rebow, Esq;
 Sir Tho. Middleton, Kt.

Sir Tho. Taylor, Bar.

Lancashire.

Gloucestershire.

Sir John Guise, Bar.
 Sir Ralph Dutton, Bar.
 Sir Duncombe Colche-
 ster, Kt.

Charles, Lord Brandon
 Gerrard.

The Hon. Rich. Lord
 Colchester.

Bennet, Lord Sherrard.
 Thomas Babington, Esq;

Thomas Master, Esq;
 John How, Esq;
 Rich. Dowdeswell, Esq;

Lincolnshire.

Sir Edward Hufsey, Kt.

Sir William Yorke, Kt.

Sir John Brownlowe, Bar.

Sir William Ellis, Bar.

Herefordshire.

Sir Edward Harley, Kt.
 of the Bath.

Paul Foley, Esq;
 John Duttoncolt, Esq;
 John Birch, Esq;

Middlesex.

The Hon. Philip How-
 ard, Esq;

Hertfordshire.

Sir Tho. Pope Blount, Bar.

Sir Patience Ward, Kt.

Sir Robert Clayton, Kt.

Sir

Sir *Tho. Pilkington*, Kt.

Sir *Will. Ashurst*, Kt.

Staffordshire.

Sir *Mich. Biddulph*, Bar.
Philip Foley, Esq;

Norfolk.

Sir *Henry Hobart*, Kt.

George England, Esq;

Suffolk.

John Trenchard, Esq;

Henry Boyle, Esq;

Serjeant at Law.

Sir *Philip Skippon*, Kt.

The Hon. Sir *Robert Howard*, Kt.

Sir *Robert Rich*, Kt. and Bar.

Sir *John Duke*, Bar.

Northamptonshire.

Sir *Tho. Samuel*, Kt.

Surrey.

Sir *Will. Langham*, Kt.

Sir *Richard Onslow*, Bar.

Nottinghamshire.

George Evelyn, Esq;

Sir *Francis Blake*, Kt.

John Arnold, Esq;

Sir *Scroop How*, Kt.

Thomas Howard, Esq;

Foot Onslow, Merchant.

Sir *John Thompson*, Bar.

Oxfordshire.

Denzil Onslow, Esq;

Sir *John Cope*, Bar.

Suffex.

Sir *Tho. Lysleton*, Bar.

Sir *John Pelham*, Bar.

Shropshire.

John Machell, Esq;

Edward Gorges, Esq;

John Lewkener, Esq;

Sir *John Fagge*, Bar.

Southampton.

William Garway, Esq;

The R. Hon. *Charles*,

Warwickshire.

Marquis of *Winton*.

The Hon. *Will. Lord*

Sir *Richard Newdigate*,

Pawlett.

Bar.

Francis Morley, Esq;

Wiltshire.

Fitton Gerrard, Esq;

Henry Wallop, Esq;

Sir *Tho. Mompeffon*, Kt.

The Hon. *James Russel*,

Thomas Pitts, Esq;

Esq;

Sir *Char. Rawleigh*, Kt.

N. 4

Mo-

Morice Bocland, Esq; *William Stockdale*, Esq;
Sir William Pinsent, Bar. *Sir William Strickland*,
Charles Godfry, Esq; Bar.
Thomas Freke, Esq; *William Palmes*, Esq;
John Wildman, senior, *Sir Michael Wharton*,
 Esq; Knight.
John Hawles, Esq;
John Wildman, junior, Barons of the Cinque-
 Esq; Ports.

Worcestershire. *Richard Austen*, Esq;
James Chadwick, Esq;
Sir James Rushout, Bar. *Julius Deeds*, Esq;
Thomas Foley, Esq; *Tho. Papillion*, Esq;
William Bromley, Esq; *Sir James Oxenden*, Kt.
John Somers, Esq; and Bar.
Richard, Lord Coote.
Henry Herbert, Esq;

W A L E S.

Yorkshire. *Sir William Williams*,
 Kt. and Bar.
Edward Tompson, Al-*Buffy Mansell*, Esq;
 derman. *Sir Rowland Gwynn*, Kt.

There is nothing that lets us better into the Characters of Persons, than the Lists I have printed in this and former Volumes. We see by them what black Businesses the Faction have from Time to Time been concern'd in; what Designs they have been carrying on; who and who have been together; who have favour'd the *French* Interest, and who endeavour'd to restore *King James*, or his pretended Son. In the following List you will meet with the Names of several Persons who were in the deepest Secrets of the late *Managers*. Soon after the Assassination Plot there was an Act of Parliament pass'd, *Against Correspanding*

responding with the late King James and his Adherents, Which Enacted, That all Persons who had been at St. Germain's, should take out Warrants to prevent their being prosecuted for it by that Law, and there were a great Number who thought fit to save themselves by such Warrants; as appears by this

LIST of Persons who had been at St. Germain's, or corresponded with King James, in France, in the Reign of King William.

A

Earl of Antrim
John Alexander
Elizabeth Arundell
Mary Audly
David Arnold
William Amies
Sir Francis Andrew
Mary Alexander

Elizabeth Bishop
John Baker
Humphry Burlace
Susanna Barry
Philip Bell
Barbara Brown
Elizabeth Brown
Barbara Brown
Mary Brown

B

Ann Bagnal, and her
five Children
John Bradey
Thomas Bellasis
Richard, Lord Bellew
Dorothy de Beuclair
Sir Nicholas Butler
John Brown
John Bromfield
John Bourk, commonly
called Lord Bophine

Samuel Boulton
Lyfter Blunt
James Butler
Captain Bellew
Timothy Bague
Thomas Burdin
John Bellasise
William Beale
Robert Bodine
Benedict Bambore
John Blackmore
Hannah Brownsworth
Richard Bowers

George

George Bradshaw	James Chiritch
Daniel Bulls	Sir William Compton
William Barefoot	Fran. Courson
Thomas Blake	John Coleman
Edward Butler	John Connoway
William Boweman	Henry Caps
Edward Burditt	Ormitha Caps
Henry Barker	Mary Cozins
Edmund Brown	John Cantrill
William Bland	Rich. Cherry
Tobias Bowles	Ed. Callender
Charles Banbridg	Eliz. Basset Coffin, and
George Barkas	Mary her Daughter
John Brodt	Margaret Carletton
William Barnes	Bartholomew Couley
David Bourk	Francis Charas
<i>Capt.</i> James Barry	William Close
Charles Bertie, <i>Esq;</i>	<i>Sir</i> Edward Carteret
Walter Butler	Thomas Cusack
William Bromfield	<i>Capt.</i> Henry Courtney
Henry Baxter	John Caddid
John Brooks	Margaret Cromwell
C	Stephen Creagh
Margaret Chilton	Edward Canron
Thomas Clofton	Charles Cross
<i>Col.</i> John Corbet	Robert Cham
<i>The Hon.</i> Benedict Leo-	Garret Coshland
nard Calvert, <i>Esq;</i>	Hen. Courson
Anne Cane	Will. Cooke
Henry Carter	Charles Cecill
Robert Clark	Anne Compton
Matt. Cooper	D
Henry Carwin	John Digby
Philip Conner	Thomas Drew
James Coleman	Henry, <i>Lord</i> Dover
Adam Colehough	John Darrell

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Doctor John Day	Edward Fenwick
Capt. Loftus Ducken- field	Capt. James Fitz-Ge- rard.
Char. Dunster	Joseph Fox
John Digby	John Fulham
John Duddell	G
Rob. Doudall	Anthony Preston, Lord
Edm. Dalton	Viscount Gormanston
Lieu. Col. Ar. Dilton	John Gazain
Alexander Doyley	Peter Galberry
E	James Gough
John Erington, Esq;	Daniel Gwin
William Evay	Reginald Graham
Major John Eames	Anthony Gazain
John Everse	Henry Gerrard
Edward Errington	Rich. Francis Griffith
James Edgland	George Toby Guiner
Thomas Errington	Agatha Gillmore
William Errington	Cæsar Gage
Philippa Elinston	Samuel Gawen
John Egan	William Goold
F	Sir Thomas Gascoigne
Lord Visc. Fitz-Wil-	Ed. Gibbon
liams	Ed. Gifford
Rich. Fitz-Williams	John Gallway
Will. Farmer	Tho. Guiborn
Rob. Fielding	Daniel Geny
Art. French	H
Robert Fagan	Joseph Haly
Hon. — Fitz-Gerald	Geo. Haviland
Henry Fall	Lord George Howard
Jane du Four	Henry Howard, Esq;
Owen Fitz-Symmons	James Hacket
Thomas Forster	Charles House
Stephen Field	Jeremiah Hollished
Capt. Edm. Fitz-Gerald	Daniel Harvey

Tho.

Tho. Hawkins	Anthony Kempt
Eliz. Hughs	Capt. Edmund Keeting
Will. Harrauld	John, Lord Kingston of
Bridget Horton	Ireland, his Wife and
Mary Hooper	2 Children
Walt. Hastings, senior	Charles Kelly
Walt. Hastings, junior	L
John Hambleton	Charlwood Lawton
Rich. Howard	Esq;
Dorothy Hurst	Dr. Thomas Lone
John Henborn	Col. Henry Lutterill
George Hilton	Lady Barbara Leonard
Lord James Howard	Lord Longdale
Elizabeth Hiddinson	Marmaduke Longdale
Ralph Hardwick	Martha Lowe
I	Richard Langhorn
Bartholomew Isaac	Edmund Loe
Mary Isaac	Ann Leozonby
Tho. Joy	Cornelius Lampard
Tho. Johnston	George Laylor
Agnes Jolly	Edmund Leny
Richard Jones	Lady Ann Lawson
James Jones	James Lorre
K	William Long
Matthew King	William Lavelly
Mary Knight	Lieut. William Long
Almorick Brown of	M
Kimule	Geo. Matthews
Lord Keny	Ed. Mellony
Lord Kenmore	Hen. Morgan
Danish Kelly	John Martin
Major Charles King	James Murray
Charles Knowles, Esq;	Luke Matthews
Lord Banbury	Donnoth Mellony
Walter Kennody	William More
Philip Kettle	Dominiek Mown

Liquor

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Lieut. Will. Mannering James Penderick

Richard Masey Eliz. Pluncket

William Mortagh Jeremiah Peirce

Sir Rich. More *Bar.* Eliz. Peirce

Peter Morris William Pore

Fran. Milton Mary Poole

Henry More Char. Parker

Tho. Murphey R

John Mackay Morgan Rugan, *Esq;*

Sir J. Magrath William Rufton

N

Charles Newy Catharine Rockley

Mary D. of Norfolk Edward Robson

Dr. Daniel Nolon Richard Rudyard

Tho. Newgent Edward Ryce, *Esq;*

John Nelson Char. D. of Richmond

Matt. Norris Felix Rouse

Tho. Newcomin Edward Richards

O

James Oswald Dr. Thomas Riddle

Capt. Darby Obrian Alexander Rigby

P

Joseph Patterson Will. Rand

Nicholas Pluncket Henry Rogers

Francis Povey Tho. Rudd

Thomas Pendergrafs John Ryley

Capt. Thomas Panton Eliz. Roper

S

Jervis Parker John Smith

William Plowden, *Esq;* John Shipen

John Plunket Sir John Southcott

Robert Prujen Charles Stourton

Will. Philips Robert Searisbrick

John Pulman William South

Rob. Parsons Countess of Suffex

Ed. Peirce Dr. Nicholas Shee

James Passible, and John Smith

Mary his Wife

Six

Sir Edward Southcott	Edward Talbot, <i>Gent.</i>
Robert Shaw	Humphrey Trafford
George Smith	Richard Trigeagle
Alicia Scott	Thomas Taylor
James Sloan, <i>Esq;</i>	George Throgmorton,
George Sheppard	<i>Esq;</i>
Philip Stapleton	Richard Trevannian
Dominick Shelborn	Ralph Tempest
Will. Stavelly	Walter Trafford, <i>Gent.</i>
Anne Selby	Charles Trinder, <i>Esq;</i>
Edward Sommerlet	James Tallant
Henry Scudamore	John Terry
Michael Smith	Geor. Taylor
Hugh Scalby	V
Andrew Smallwood	Mary Valois
Robert Shepheard	Anthony Vane
John Stephens	W
Tho. Sackfield	Will. Walfh
Jane Stratham	John Williams
John Seagrave	John Wond
Francis Sheldon	Fran. Williamson, <i>Esq;</i>
Thomas Swinborn	George Wilson
Alexander Stratham	Sir Drury Wray
Peter Saltmarsh	Capt. Daniel Wood
John Talbot Stoner, <i>Esq;</i>	Char. Walurn
T	Tho. Wagleck
George Talbot	Will. Wood
Mary Timperly	John White
John, Lord Trimleston	John Widrington, and
Francis Tenn <i>Gent.</i>	Mary his Wife
Jeremiah Tincker	William Wilmore
James Tracy	Thomas Walfh

*A LIST of Persons who were order'd
to stay in England by Warrant.*

B	Lewis Janvair	
Sir Henry Bond	Catharine Jackson	
Jane Bell	Rob. Inwood	
Capt. Tho. Bourk	K	
Owen Bonham	John Knight	
William Bayes	Miles Keagne	
Capt. John Bradill	L	
C	Peter Lyon	
Capt. Henry Carter	Charles Lake	
Thomas Conyers	John Lambden	
Major William Crosby	John Lunt	
Sir John Colliton	— Lone	
D	M	
John Drake	Sir Terrence	Mar-
Wynn Davies	grave	
E	John Murphey	
Francis East	P	
F	Francis Pierce	
William Fenwick	Henry Prince	
Arthur Fitz-Patterick	John Purcell	
G	S	
John Grace	Tho. Smith	
— Gardiner	John Spencer	
H	Char. Sherburne	
Lady Hatton, Widow	W	
Marbel Harding, Wi-	Dan. Westney	
dom	John Wynal	
Everius Harris	Will. White	
George Harris	Tecla Whaley	
I		
Edward Jones		

The

The Tory Faction so far degenerated from the Principles of the old *Caviliers*, that they seem'd to renounce the Interests of their Country, and to give themselves up entirely to the Passions of the Prince. When they first appear'd in the World, which was about the middle of King *Charles* the 1st's Reign, they did not so much as pretend to any Concern for Religion. The Faction was made up of the most debauch'd, and wicked People in the Kingdom, Atheists, Drunkards, Whorers, Thieves, &c. but by the Countenance of the Court, the corrupter Part of the Clergy fell in with them, and they soon brought in what they were pleas'd to call the *Church*, yet they had not the Impudence to take on them any Religious Denomination. They wou'd have been hooted out of the Nation if they had pretended to be the *Godly Party*, in Opposition to the Sober and Virtuous Part of the Kingdom. They contented themselves with swearing, drinking, roaring, and bustling for the King and the Duke, and Church was no more a till *Toast* after King *William* had deliver'd it out of the Danger into which their King and Duke had brought it. They then all of a sudden affected an extravagant Zeal for its Preservation, when its Preserver was at the Head of it; and tho' they were still the same Men, as lewd and immoral as ever, yet finding the Cry was become popular, they let off that of the *Crown*, and took up that of the *Mitre*. They turn'd the Charge of Atheism and Debauchery on their Opponents, and with all the Vices that Mankind can be guilty of in defiance of the Laws of God and Man, set up for

Chan

Champions of the Church, and a new Godly Party.

As they had taken this bold step in Spirituals, so acted they in Temporals, and after they had sold *England* to *France*, taken the *French King's* Pensions for several Years to supply the want of Parliamentary Subsidies; after they had enrich'd themselves out of the Spoils of a Bankrupt Exchequer, and by the Profusion of a lavish Prince, they made surprising Pretences to a singular Care for the Interest of their Country, and an extreme Neglect of their own. Their Opponents they call'd *Plunderers* and *Peculators*; and when they had no Opportunity of getting any Thing, they never fail'd of exclaiming against those that had; but as soon as a Temptation fell in their way, they remember'd what was done by their Forefathers, and fill'd their Pockets at the Expence of both Honour and Conscience. For there has not been any notable Instance of Bribery in State Matters since the Revolution, but it stuck upon the Tories. I have in the Third Part shewn how they were King *Charles's* Pensioners in Parliament, as the Ministers and their Master were *Lewis* the XIV's. and in tracing their History down lower, we shall find the same Minister who transacted the Affair of the *French* Pension in King *Charles's* Time, playing at a smaller Game in King *William's*. They cou'd have no Money from *France* then, and therefore they resolv'd to trade at home when they had an Opportunity, and the *East-India* Company having then Occasion of their Assistance in Court and Parliament, the Companies Treasury paid dearly for their

O

Fa-

Favour. King William had the Misfortune to be surrounded by Tories as well as Whigs, and the House of Commons was so full of 'em, that they cou'd carry almost any Thing which was not an open Step for King James. The East-India Company was at that Time Tories too, and being in danger of losing their Charter for Mismanagement and Corruption, they apply'd to their Tory Friends for their Protection, which they cou'd not obtain but at a very unconscionable Price, near 300000 l. at several Times, as will be shewn in the following Pages. Before I enter into the Particulars of it, I shall repeat what was said by a very knowing Gentleman on this Subject, in a Treatise he publish'd in 1701. The Proceedings relating to the Old East-India Company, says he, are upon the Journals of Parliament, and sufficiently known. I'll only observe, that in that dark Business, their own Committee have reported, that on the 31st of October, 1694, the Ballances of their Cash-book was, l. 124249 15 10 Which Sum their Cashire a little while after could give no Account of.

Besides this, there were Contracts for Stock to the Value of, 67383 1 6 which were job'd up and down, and at last became lost to the Company, for the same Uses as the other Sum.

And upon the Company's Account of Charges General, there was paid out of Cash in 6 Years for special Service, ———

	103165	15	5
In all	294798	12	9

Here

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Here was a Profusion, a Wast of Money by *Tory Managers* of the *East India Company's* Concerns, to *Tory Managers* of the *Nations*. This was a Corruption of such Importance, that 'twas impossible it should long be unconceal'd; and on the 7th of *March*, 1694. the House of Commons appointed a Committee to inspect the Books of the *East India Company*, and of the Chamberlain of *London*. The Names of the Committee were,

Paul Foley, Esq; *Thomas Pelham, Esq;*
Sir Richard Onslow, *Sir Sam. Barnadiston,*
John Pollexfen, Esq; The Hon. *Thomas*
Sir John Thompson, *Wharton, Esq;*
Foot Onslow, Esq; *Francis Gwyn, Esq;*

Of whom only the last Man had then the Character of a *Tory*, and 'tis enough to shew which Party was innocent by the Zeal of the Prosecutors. This Committee, pursuant to the Order of the House, made a Report, that the last Sum of 103165 *l.* 15 *s.* 5 *d.* was dispos'd of, viz:

	When Sir Benjamin Bathurst was Gov.	l	s.	d.
1688	Sir Josiah Child, Deputy Governor,	2230	14	00
1689				
	When Sir Joseph Herne was Gov.			
1690	Sir Thomas Cook, Deputy-Governor,	13532	09	02
1691				
	When Sir Thomas Cook was Govern.			
1692	Fran. Tyssen, Esq; Deputy-Govern.	87402	12	03
1693				
		103165	15	05
				They

They also reported, that Mr. Thomas Colson had made a Contract with the Company, by which he was to get 10000 l. in a Voyage of the Ship *Seymour*. I mention this to shew that Sir Edward Seymour's Hands were doubtless defil'd as well as others of his Tory Brethren; Colson being his particular Friend, and was made Member of Parliament by him, for his Borough of Totness. Let the Reader guess after this, who it was that was to go Snacks in this 10000 l. Sir John Ward declar'd to the Committee of Parliament, *He did not believe it was for Mr Colson himself, but for some other Gentleman* and Sir Benjamin Bathurst being examin'd by them, said, he had had some warm Discourse with Sir Thomas Cook about 90000 l. receiv'd by him at once, as appears by his Receipt of the 10th of January, 1693. but Sir Thomas made him no other Answer, than that the 90000 l. was to gratify some Persons, in case they could get an Act of Parliament.

It is well enough known of what Stamp these Gentlemen were, and Sir Thomas Cook refusing to give the House an Account of that prodigious Sum, was sent to the Tower. The same Day a Bill was order'd to be brought in to oblige him to give an Account how he distributed that and other Sums; which Bill pass'd the Commons in 2 or 3 Days time, and was sent to the Lords. At the first Reading of it in that House it was remarkable, that the Duke of Leeds, then Lord President of the Council, made a vehement Speech against it, which he introduced with a most solemn Protestation of his Clearness and Innocence, and laying his Hand

on his Breast, declar'd upon his Faith and Honour, that he was perfectly disinterested, and had no Part or Concern in this Matter, and therefore might the better appear against the Bill. The Lords sent for Sir Thomas Cook, who said he was very ready and very willing to make a Discovery, and wou'd have done it before in the House of Commons, if he cou'd have obtain'd an Indemnifying Vote there, that his Confession should be no Prejudice to him, which he then desir'd of their Lordships; and they resolv'd, that the Bill to call him to Account, should be drop'd, and an Indemnifying Bill pass'd, to encourage him to give that Account, without being forc'd to it by a Bill.

The Duke of Leeds, upon this Occasion, distinguish'd himself by an extraordinary Concern for the Honour of the Peers. He told the House, that the Commons had taken Care of the Reputation of their House, by asking Sir Thomas Cook, if he had distributed any Money among any of their Members; that he purg'd them by a solemn Protestation, that he had not, and his Grace thought it reasonable the Lords should have the same Regard to themselves. He therefore mov'd that Sir Thomas Cook should be ask'd, Whether he were willing upon Oath to purge all those who sat there; but this was not receiv'd. How zealous was this Duke to clear the Character of his Peers? We find him the most busy and talkative upon this Head; and he will have Reason before we have done with this Affair, to speech it for himself, as well as for Sir Thomas Cook. He knew Sir Thomas had not been the Canal made

made use of for a Communication between the Company and him; and therefore he defy'd his Confession.

In order to get what they cou'd out of Sir Thomas Cook, the indemnifying Act before-mention'd past, and a Committee of Lords and Commons were appointed with full Power to examine into the Bottom of this bad Business.

The Lords were,

The Earl of Pembroke, Earl of Monmouth,
 Lord Privy-Seal, Earl of Marlborough,
 Duke of Shrewsbury, Earl of Torrington,
 Earl of Manchester, Lord Viscount Weymouth,
 Earl of Bridgewater, Lord Cornwallis, and
 Earl of Thanet, Lord Godolphin,
 Earl of Rochester.

The Commons,

Sir John Thompson, The Honourable Thomas Wharton, Esq;
 Sir Richard Onslow, Mr. Harley,
 Sir Henry Hobart, Mr. Bridges, Sir Walter Young,
 The Honourable Charles Sir Christopher Musgrave, Esq;
 The Honourable Henry Sir Edward Abney, Esq;
 Boyle, Esq; Mr. Chadwick,
 Sir Thomas Littleton, Sir Herbert Crofts,
 Sir Thos Pope. Blunt, Sir Rowland Gwyn,
 Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Papillon,
 Mr. Boscawen, Sir William Cooper,
 Mr. Clarke, Mr. Brockman, and
 Mr. Pelham, Mr. Gwyn.

Of these only Mr. Harley, Sir Christopher Musgrave, Mr. Gwyn, and one or two more, were

of the Tory Party, and the first of 'em had not then *so far falln from Grace*, as to declare himself a *Staunch-man*.

On *Tuesday* the 23d of *April*, Sir *Thomas Cook* appear'd before this Committee in the *Exchequer Chamber*, and deliver'd to them his *Confession in Writing*; I shall not take notice of such small Sums, as 500*l.* or 1000*l.* but mention only the larger; and of these I find,

<i>Francis Tyssen, Esq;</i>	had for	<i>l.</i>
<i>Special Service,</i>	— — —	10000
<i>Mr. Richard Acton,</i>	— — —	12000
<i>Sir Basil Firebrace,</i>	— — —	40000

Tyssen's Money was pretended to be presented to the King, and the *Tories* made a great Noise about it; whereas it was only a customary Present from the Company to the Crown, as was prov'd by Sir *Josiah Child*, and could not be thought to have been given for a *Bill*, since they offer'd 50000*l.* but the King said he would not meddle with it; and then they offer'd the same 50000*l.* to the *Earl of Portland*, but he told Mr. *Tyssen*, if ever he mention'd it to him again, he wou'd be the *Company's Enemy*, and give 'em all the *Opposition* he cou'd. The *Lord Nottingham* was offer'd 5000*l.* which his Lordship scorn'd to accept; but unhappily there was found in Sir *Thomas Cook's Confession*, a Sum of 500 *Guineas* to a notorious *Nonjuror*, *Charles Bates, Esq;* who for that, and 5000 *Guineas* paid afterwards, engag'd the *Duke of Leeds* to use his Interest for the Company. This *Bates* was apply'd to by Sir *Basil Firebrace*, as a *Man a-*

ble to do Service, and having Acquaintance with several Persons of Honour, as Sir Basil depos'd, but the Jacobite wou'd not stir till he had Notes for 5000 Guineas on Mr. Atwell the Goldsmith.

What Persons of Honour must it be, that such a profest Enemy to the King was acquainted with? Cou'd they be Friends to King William? Is it a Wonder that his Councils were betray'd, his Affairs perplext, and the War he was carrying on unsuccessful? He was advis'd to make use of a Motley Ministry. He took some Staunch-men into his Service, and we see how they serv'd him? They have Interest at Court, and the Jacobite *Bates* has Interest in them. 'Twas likely that any thing good cou'd be happy to a Government that was in such Hands. As soon as it was known that the Duke of *Leeds* had been dealing with *Bates*, and *Bates* with the Company, the House of Commons conceiv'd a just Indignation against such Practices; and the honourable *Thomas Wharton*, Esq; having made a Report from the Committee of both Houses, of the Examination taken by them; several Members spoke to it, whom I shall distinguish only by *A. B. C. &c.*

A. Mr. Speaker,

I conceive there is a Necessity to search this Matter to the Bottom. The House has a Thred in their Hands; they ought to provide Laws for the future, to prevent the Members of this House taking Money. All imaginable Endeavours have been us'd to stifle all Discoveries. The Facts prove themselves, and Mr. Bates
appears

appears an unfortunate Person, whom the Care of his Friend the Duke of Leeds, and the Sense of his Oath, have caus'd to make such Contradictions. I move that the House would put the Matter in a such Method as becomes their Justice, and as the shortness of their time will allow.

Mr. Speaker,

B. ' I do fully agree with that Person near me, that there never were greater and more general Instances of Corruption, and Necessity of speedy Remedy. It is very fit this House should let the World see they are in Earnest. I ask leave to put you in mind what Practice and Arts have been used to stifle and stop your Discovery, so that what you have is, as it were, by the utmost Force and Constraint. You cannot wonder at it, when you now find so great a Man at the Bottom. But there is no Person in a Post so high, that this House cannot reach; no Man's Practice or Art so deep, that this House cannot discover. Here have been all imaginable Endeavours us'd to obstruct this Enquiry. First his Majesty's Name was made use of at the Committee, with hopes perhaps that that might stop any further Enquiry; and if it was made use of there, you may reasonably expect it was made use of elsewhere. But that appear'd so far from being a Reflection on the King, that Sir Josiah Child often complain'd of it, as a Rudeness to his Majesty; that what other Kings had yearly as a Present, they had not offer'd to his Majesty in three Years. It was indeed, if not a Mat-
ter

ter of Right, a Matter of Custom. Then a noble Lord, who may be named for his Honour upon this Occasion, the Earl of Portland, when the great Sum of 50000*l.* was prest upon him, did absolutely refuse it, and told them he would for ever be their Enemy and Opposer, if they offer'd any such thing to him. I having thus mention'd the Innocent, must say somewhat of the Guilty; a Stop having been put, the Duke of Leeds must be apply'd to. Certainly there never was a more notorious Bribery, and that in a Person whom we might have thought to have been free from such a Crime, whether if you respect the Greatness of his Place, or of his former Obligation? It is fit to speak plainly on such Occasions, that the House ought to endeavour to remove such a Person from the King's Council and Presence. What Security can the Nation have when we are bought and sold to one another? We have seen our Designs defeated, our Attempts betray'd, and what Wonder is it? Can any Man think it more strange, that our Councils should be sold abroad, than that Charters should be sold at home? Certainly a Man may reasonably believe, that he who will sell the Subjects, will sell the Kingdom, if he can have a sufficient Bribe. What Prince can be safe in such Councils, which are given for private Advantage. Several Proposals for a Remedy may be here offer'd, as that this House should address his Majesty to remove the Duke of Leeds; but with Submission, an Address is too mean and too

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low a thing for the House to do at this time, and upon such an Occasion, I therefore move we may lodge an Impeachment.

C. *said, I wonder the Gentleman who spoke last, should say, that which I hope he did not believe, that that Lord should have sold our Councils to France.*

B. *Reply'd,* 'It is with some Uneasiness I stand up, but the Gentleman forces me to it, for I do not take Pleasure to rake in a Dunghil. I was far from saying any such thing, but argu'd only from Possibility, that it was as reasonable to believe one as the other. That when Honour and Justice were not the Rule of Mens Actions, there was nothing incredible that might be for their Advantage.'

D. *I second and agree in the Motion for an Impeachment.*

E. 'God alone, who can produce Light out of Darkeness, can fully discover the dark Practices in this Affair. Such Actings as these are a Blemish, if not a Scandal to the Revolution it self. I agree in the Motion for an Impeachment.'

F. *By what Law is it a Crime to take Money at Court?*

G. 'If there be no Law, it is time there should be a Law to prevent it.'

H. *The Law of God is against him, and broke by him. He took an Oath as a Privy-Counsellor. Justice is not to be sold by the common Law. But there are Parliaments to punish such Crimes; and 'tis hop'd there will be still.*

I. 'It seems doubtful whether there be Matter in this Report for an Impeachment;

‘ment; therefore before the House goes to
 ‘an Impeachment, they ought to put the
 ‘Question upon the Report, and see whe-
 ‘ther it be a Crime.

K. *Where there is no Law, there is no Transgression.*

The Question was then put, and it was
 Resolved,

*That there does appear to this House, upon
 the Report of the Committee of both Houses, ap-
 pointed to examine the Persons mention'd in the
 Report of Sir Thomas Cook's Account, that
 there is sufficient Matter to impeach Thomas
 Duke of Leeds, Lord President of his Maje-
 sty's most honourable Privy-Council, of high
 Crimes and Misdemeanours.*

Resolved,

*That Thomas Duke of Leeds, President,
 &c. be impeached of high Crimes and Misdemeanours.*

The Lord Pembroke, Lord Privy-Seal, made the same Report to the House of Lords, as Mr. Comptroller had made to the House of Commons; after the Reading of which, the Duke of Leeds spoke as follows,

My Lords,

‘As, I have formerly protested my self to
 ‘be free in this Matter, so I still deny upon
 ‘my Faith and Honour, that I am guilty of a-
 ‘ny such Corruptions as are suggested against
 ‘me; and if the whole Truth were laid o-
 ‘pen, it would tend to my Honour and Ad-
 ‘vantage.

‘I will be very free in telling your Lord-
 ‘ships now before-hand all that passed, in
 ‘which

which I was any ways concerned. Mr. Bates did introduce Sir Basil Firebrace to me, and I had Conference with Sir Basil upon the Subject of the *East India Company*, which *Firebrace* was concern'd for.

Some time after Mr. Bates came and inform'd me, that he was to have a Sum of Money of Sir Basil, and he desir'd me to lend him one of my Servants (Mr. Bates keeping but one Footman) to receive the Money, and so I lent him Monsieur Robart.

I knew nothing of the Sum; but afterwards Mr. Bates came to me, and told me he had receiv'd 5000 Guineas, which he offer'd to me; telling me I had been very obliging and kind to him, and that in Acknowledgment of the many Favours he receiv'd from my Hands, he humbly desir'd me to accept of them; which I refused, Mr. Bates prest me earnestly to take one half, or a Quarter; which I still refus'd, declaring I would not touch a Penny; and telling him, since he had taken them, I thought there was no need of returning them, they were his own, and I wish'd him good Luck with them, as I remember I did once to Mr. Harry Savile, for whom I had a great Respect; which reminds me of a Story, I must needs tell your Lordships upon this Occasion: When I was Treasurer, the Excise being to be farm'd, for which many put in, the Bidders for it (who were to give in their Proposals seal'd up) having apply'd to Mr. Savile for his Interest at Court, he came to me, and desir'd that I would tell the Gentlemen
that

that put in, who were several, that Mr. Savile had spoke for them; What, said I, would you have me tell all of them so, when but one of them is to have it? No matter for that, says Mr. Savile, for whoever has it will think I have done him this Service, and I am sure of a good Present without more ado; so, my Lords, when the Men came, I told them one after another, Sir, you are very much obliged to Mr. Savile; Sir, Mr. Savile has been very much your Friend. A little while after, when the Thing was settled, Mr. Savile came and thank'd me for what I had done, and told me he had got his Present that he expected, which I told him I was glad of, and wish'd him good Luck with it, as I now did Mr. Bates. And thus I was then a Shadow to Mr. Savile, as I was now to Mr. Bates.

The House of Commons having order'd the honourable Thomas Wharton, Esq; Comptroller of his Majesty's Household, to go up to the Lords, and at their Bar, in the Name of the House, and of all the Commons of England, to impeach Thomas Duke of Leeds, of high Crimes and Misdemeanours, and acquaint them that this House will in due time, exhibit particular Articles against him, and make good the same, the Duke of Leeds, who was inform'd what was in Agitation against him in the House of Commons, went immediately from the Upper to the Lower House, and desir'd Admittance, which was granted, and a Chair plac'd for him within the Bar. The Speaker told him, that the House having receiv'd Information that he desir'd

desir'd to be heard; they were ready to hear him; that there was a Chair for his Grace to repose himself, and that he might please to be cover'd. Then the Duke sat down, put on his Hat, and after a little Pause arose, uncover'd himself, and made the following Speech.

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of this House, in the first place, I thank you heartily for this Favour of hearing me. I had attended sooner, if I had had the least Intimation what the House was upon. I wish the Dispatch thereof had not been so quick. The Occasion of my coming is from the Two Vices, upon the Report from the Committee of both Houses. I did all I could to be inform'd of the Particulars, but could not, nor have I any Notes. I was earnest therein, finding my self concern'd, and hearing of a Report, a monstrous long Report, to the End that I might not be under the Displeasure of either or both Houses; it is a bold Word, but 'tis a Truth, this House had not been sitting, but for me.

I was formerly persw'd by this House in Two Points, for being for the French Interest, and for Popery; I had then, if I might have been heard, justify'd my self, and I hope I have since done, and shall by all the Actions of my Life.

One Firebrace was introduced to me, by the Means of Mr. Bates, whom I have long known, and if I am not much deceiv'd in him, I cannot believe that Gentleman would have transacted such a Matter, if put upon it.

The Evidence is but Hearsay, and I hope you will not condemn on Hearsay. I would not take up your time by entring into Particulars; but there is a Money Part, as well as a Treaty Part, and

and as to the Money Part, much of it is false. What is true, I have made no secret. I can, and do say, that neither directly, nor indirectly, upon my Faith and Honour, I never touched one Penny of the Money.

I observe a great deal of Pains has been taken to hook and draw in this Matter by a side Wind, and Firebrace thinks his Merit will deserve 10000 and 30000 l. This 5000 Guineas was no Part of the 40000 l. The Committee call'd in and examin'd several Witnesses, but Firebrace, after his first Hearing, desir'd to be call'd in again himself, contrary to all Rules, which shews at least that he is a very willing Witness.

I have a Thread, which I hope to spin finer, and make it appear, that this was a Design laid against me, long before the naming this Committee, that Warning was given me some time since, that this Matter would be prov'd against me, and that Firebrace had been told, he should be excus'd, if he would charge the Duke.

I ask no Favour but your favourable Justice. It will be a most unfortunate thing, in point of time, to be under the Displeasure of this House or of the Nation. I pray that no severe Sentence may be put on what will bear a candid one; and that, if it may be, the House would reconsider what is done, or at least preserve me from Cruelty and not let me lie on the Rack and be blasted, until the Parliament shall sit again.

If you will proceed, I hope it will be speedily for I had rather want Counsel, want Time, want anything, than be under yours or the Nation's Displeasure. I thank you again for this Favour of hearing me, and pray if you will not reconsider that

that thus the Matter may be brought to a Determination, and that I may have at least your speedy Justice.

What Opinion the House had of the Duke's Sincerity in this Matter, will appear by the Speeches of several Members, and the Continuance of the Prosecution. And notwithstanding the Duke has since deny'd his having touch'd one Penny, upon his Faith and Honour, we shall find great Reason to doubt the Truth of his Denial.

After the Impeachment was sent to the House of Lords, the Commons took the Duke's Speech into Consideration, and one worthy Member said,

' By this noble Lord's Speech, the Point is now, Whether the House will arraign the Committee of both Houses, or go on with their Impeachment. This noble Lord, when he came to the Matter, would not enter into Particulars; but pass'd it over with Excuse of wanting time. He makes no Excuse as to the Facts. His Argument of a Contrivance was, that the 5000 Guineas charg'd on him, was no part of the 40000 l. Firebrace was to account for. But this is an Aggravation of the Crime. For Sir Thomas Cook had a double Account, one with, and one without the 5000 Guineas; and this is an Indication, that if there was a Contrivance; it was not by the Committee, but with Sir Thomas Cook, to stifle the Enquiry, and conceal the Corruption. The speedy Justice of the House is to be wish'd and desir'd. If there is such a Contrivance, such a Thread as is mention'd by this noble

P

' Lord,

‘ Lord, ’tis not to be doubted, but the House
 ‘ where he is impeach’d will clear him.

Another Member mov’d, ‘ That a Com-
 ‘ mittee might be appointed to withdraw, to
 ‘ consider what was to be done, in order to
 ‘ gratify that noble Lord by speedy Justice.
 ‘ His Friend Mr. *Bates*’s tricking and contra-
 ‘ dicting himself, is more than the Evidence
 ‘ of *Firebrace*. Who was his Friend? Who
 ‘ was his Servant? Those were Questions
 ‘ not to be ask’d. Monsieur *Robart* was a
 ‘ Servant of my Lord President’s, and is
 ‘ fled. Mr. *Bates* said he kept the Money
 ‘ in his House. What was become of it?
 ‘ Sometimes he had spent it. Sometimes it
 ‘ was in his Closet. He did own the Money
 ‘ was not in his House on *Sunday*, but on
 ‘ *Tuesday* Morning *Robart* brought it to him,
 ‘ but he would never declare from whence
 ‘ he brought it.

I shall not insert the Articles exhibited a-
 gainst the Duke, nor the Duke’s Answer,
 the Substance of them is contain’d in these
 Speeches. But observe some Passages which
 confirm the Charge, as not only *Bates*’s con-
 tradicting himself, but that when he was ex-
 amin’d, he happen’d in haste to reply, when
 a Question was ask’d him about the Money,
What, my Lord’s Money? Distinguishing be-
 tween the 500 Guineas that were given him
 for his *Interest in his Friend at St. James’s*, and
 the 5000 Guineas that were for his Friend;
 add to this *Robart*’s taking a Pass out immedi-
 ately in the Secretary’s Office, under a wrong
 Name, and his escaping to *Holland*. ’Tis
 true, the Duke, after the Commons had de-
 clar’d

clar'd they cou'd not proceed further in the Impeachment, for want of so material a Witness, seem'd to insist mightily upon a Determination of the Matter, and made several Speeches to that Purpose, especially after *Robert* was gone off. A Proclamation was publish'd upon Address of Parliament, which bore Date the 9th of *May*, 1695. Six Days after 'twas order'd, and it was not proclaim'd till the 15th of *May*; which shews by what Influence it was, that it met with no greater Dispatch. The same Influence prevail'd to have the Parliament prorogu'd, when they were about charging other Persons with Bribery, an Impeachment having been mov'd against Sir *John Trevor*, who besides the Orphan Business, had been censur'd for a Share of the *East India* Money too. Sir *Basil Firebrace* depos'd, that 10000 *l.* was intended for Sir *Edward Seymour*, Sir *John Trevor*, and *Henry Guy*, Esq; and that Sir *John Trevor* did give him some Hints of his Expectation: Mr. *Guy* had been guilty of Bribery in *Paun-terfort's* Affair, and was expell'd the House for it.

Thus we see what publick spirited Men the Tories are; they scorn to do any thing for Advantage; they will be no Nation Plunderers, not they; but if a Penny can be made of the Fatherless and Motherless, they will not stick; they will rather play at a small Game, as we shall find presently, in looking into the Orphans Case. The Duke of *Leeds* wou'd feign have had it thought, that the Proceedings against him was only but from a Party, and out of *Pique*. Whatever it was among

the Politicians, it cou'd not be said to be Pique in the *East India* Company, who order'd a Committee of their own to inspect their Books, and see how their Money was embezzeled. This Committee was compos'd of the most Eminent and Worthy of their Members, as

Nathaniel Tench, Esq; Edward Rudge, Esq;
Sir Jeremy Sambrooke, Mr. Robert Marshall
Sir Benjamin Bathurst, Mr. George Boun, and
William Fawkonner, Esq; Mr. Isaac Houlton.
John Ward, Esq;

Who, after a strict Examination of the Matter, made a Report, that they could find no Account of the Disposal of 103165 *l.* 15 *s.* 5 *d.* the greatest Part of which was paid to Sir Basil Firebrace, and that there was 57000 in the Hands of Sir Thomas Cook unaccounted for; the 5000 Guin. were part of these great Sums, and the Company's Committee had gone thro' this Affair, before it was brought into Parliament. The Rumour of their discovering of Corruption, occasion'd the Parliament's enquiring into this Bribery, and others; and the Duke of Leeds, Sir John Trevor, &c. were necessarily brought upon the Stage. Sir John Trevor was doubtless of the Opinion of Dr. Davenant, in his Dialogue of *Double and Wiglove*, That where a Shoulder of Mutton is stirring, 'tis good to have a Slice of it. For he was the deepest of any Body in the Orphan Bribery, and how deep in the *East India*, best known to himself, and his Friend Mr. Clive, who refunded 500 Guineas, which Sir

John

John had receiv'd of the Company's Money.

The Orphans hard Case was this; The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, had several Years solicited to have a Bill pass for Payment of the Debt to the Orphans. It grew into a great Burthen on the City, during the Magistracy of *Moor, Pritchard, North, Rich*, and the rest of the Tory Mayors and Aldermen, and many hundred Orphans starv'd for want of their Portions, which had been put into the Chamberlain's Hands on the Security of the City. But as the Court Tories had shut up the Court Exchequer, the City Tories did the same by theirs, and pleaded Bankruptcy to the Demand of the distressed Orphans. When the Management of the City Affairs fell into better Hands, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, appointed a Committee to enquire into the Orphans Affair, and think of a proper Method to relieve them. This Committee was compos'd of the following Members of that great Corporation,

Sir Thomas Stamp,	Mr. Gilbert Heathcot,
Sir Francis Child,	Mr. John Johnson,
Sir James Houblon,	Col. Thomas Cuthbert,
Sir William Hedges,	Mr. Thomas Cuddon,
Sir Henry Furnesse,	Mr. John Harvey, and
Mr. Ayres,	Mr. Daniel Dorville.

Who finding that nothing had been done after three Years troublesome Solicitation; that several Bills had been brought into the House of Commons, to relieve the Orphans, but they were always lost, or so clogg'd, that they

they cou'd not get them thro' the House in a Session of Parliament, thought the most effectual way to prevent the starving of those poor Creatures, wou'd be to give some Men of Interest what they shou'd require for it, and engage 'em to do for Gain what they wou'd not do for Justice. Accordingly they made proper Application, and dispos'd of several Sums of Money; as,

To Sir *John Trevor* — 1000 Guineas.
 To Mr. *John Hungerford* — 20 Guineas.
 To Mr. *Harcourt* — — — 5 Guineas.
 To Mr. *Jodrell*, 100 Guin. & 60 l. 9 s. 6 d.

This Money and some more that is not known, being thus distributed, the Orphans Bill that wou'd not wag before, ran thro' the House with uncommon Swiftnes; for on the 12th of *February*, 1693, the Money was voted to be given to Sir *John Trevor* the Speaker; and on the 12th of *March*, the Orphans Bill was sent to the Lords for their Concurrence. Three Days after the Speaker had receiv'd his comfortable Importance the Orphans Bill was brought into the House by Col. *Goldwell*, the same who receiv'd 1000 l. Bribe of the *East India Company*, and that Gentleman was appointed Chair-man of the Committee, to whom the Bill was refer'd. What he receiv'd for his Pains and Trouble is not known; but doubtless he had no more Kindness for the Orphans than for the Company, and would do nothing for nothing. This *Goldwell* was *Burgess* for *St. Edmundsbury* in *Suffolk*, and made a good Han-

of his *Burgessship*; tho' 'tis likely, had he not dy'd before these Matters were call'd in Question, he had far'd no better than Sir *Thomas Cook*, and the rest of 'em, who were lock'd up in Prison by Act of Parliament. Sir *John Trevor* did not go sneakingly to work, nor receive his Money in a Corner, he took it in Presence of Sir *Robert Clayton*, and Sir *James Houblon*, from the Hands of the Chamberlain of London.

The House of Commons having Intimation of this Bribery, order'd a Committee to inspect the Chamberlain's Books, and examine strictly the Committee of Aldermen and Common-Council. A Report of this Affair being made to the House, they came to the following Resolutions, the 16th of March, 1693.

Resolved,

That Sir John Trevor, Speaker of this House, receiving a Gratuity of 1000 Guineas from the City of London, after passing of the Orphans Bill, is guilty of a high Crime and Misdemeanour.

Tho' Sir John put his Name to the Votes printed by his Jacobite Printer, in which was this Resolution, yet he did not think fit to attend the House, who upon that elected *Paul Foley*, Esq; their Speaker; and,

Resolved,

That Sir John Trevor, late Speaker of this House, being guilty of a high Crime and Misdemeanour, by receiving a Gratuity of 1000 Guineas from the City of London, after passing the Orphans Bill, be expell'd this House.

And on the 18th of March, they took into Consideration the Merits of Mr.

John Hungerford, one of their Members, who was Chair-man of the Committee of the whole House, when the Orphans Bill was committed; and having been very diligent in the passing of it, the City were so grateful, as to present him with a Purse of Guineas; but the House not approving of this Gratitude of theirs,

Resolved,

Mr. Hungerford, a Member of this House, having receiv'd 20 Guineas for his Pains and Service, as Chair-man of the Committee, to whom the Orphans Bill was committed, is guilty of a high Crime and Misdemeanour.

Resolved thereupon,

That Mr. Hungerford be expell'd this House.

This worthy Gentleman was afterwards chosen again, and especially in the two last Parliaments. He had the Happiness to be in the good Graces of the late honest *Managers*, and to be one of those that voted for *Sacheverell* and the *French Bill*.

If a Man was to read nothing but the Preamble to the Patten, for making the *Quondam* Treasurer a *double Earl*, one would not think the Tories of *England* had been as great *Peculators* as their Name-sakes of *Ireland*. That excellent Man, who in an Essay of his, call'd *An Essay upon Credit*, said, he cou'd with Pleasure dwell whole Pages on the Praises of his Predecessor, the *Earl of Godolphin*; files his Lordship in that Preamble a *Peculator*, a Latin Word for a Robber of Churches, and wou'd insinuate, that the Protestant Party in *Great Britain* is made up of Robbers and Plunderers. 'Twas for the sake of this Insinuation

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on that I look'd back into the Management of the Tory Faction, when they had the Game in their Hands. For by the Interest of the *Money-takers* in the House, we may perceive which side had the Majority.

I intended to have clos'd this Part of my Secret History, with the Assassination Plot, and some Incidents the Consequences of it; but the Charge which the Disaffected to the present Government bring against its Friends, of being Lovers of themselves, has made such a Clamour of late, that I cou'd not forbear exposing those that make that Clamour, by turning that very Charge on their Leaders. It is no wonder, that an Enemy to his Country should be so far a Friend to himself, as to take Money when offer'd him; or that he who has a Conscience which will suffer him to sell his Liberty, should make no Scruple to sell his Vote. I did not look back into the Story of these Briberies, with a View of surprising my Reader. Men who cou'd vote for giving our Trade to *France*, will surely at any time make their Market of their Votes, as well at home as abroad.

These Sheets having been printed at two Houses, and the Manuscript Copy by a Mistake of one of the Printers cast off wrong, I am forc'd to insert in this Place, what I design'd only as an Appendix. The Lord *Clarendon's* History has made so much Noise in the World, that I doubt not they will be glad to read what I am going to relate concerning the Author; and to know the true Character of a Man, who valu'd himself so much on knowing the Characters of others.

To

To perform this, I must go back as far as the Year 1667, when that Earl was impeach'd in Parliament.

An Account of the Proceedings in the House of Commons, about impeaching the Earl of Clarendon.

MR. Edward Seymour, afterwards the famous West Saxon Knight, was the Member that first mov'd the Matter, the 26th of October, 1667. He charg'd him with many great Crimes, and several Debates arose about the Reason and Manner of impeaching him. In these Debates will be found some of the greatest Men, that then liv'd, speaking for or against the Earl.

P R O.

<i>Laurence Hyde, Esq;</i>	<i>Sir John Shaw,</i>
<i>Sir Heneage Finch,</i>	<i>Mr. Coventry,</i>
<i>Sir Francis Goodrick,</i>	<i>Sir John Brampton,</i>
<i>Mr. Swinfen,</i>	<i>Sir Thomas Meers,</i>
<i>Mr. Coleman,</i>	<i>Sir Thomas Clifford,</i>
<i>Sir Robert Ackland,</i>	<i>Sir Robert Carr,</i>
<i>Sir John Goodrick,</i>	<i>Sir John Talbot.</i>
<i>Sir Edward Thurland,</i>	

C O N.

<i>Mr. Edward Seymour,</i>	<i>Sir Robert Howard,</i>
<i>Sir Thomas Littleton,</i>	<i>Mr. John Trevor,</i>
<i>Serjeant Maynard,</i>	<i>Lord St. John,</i>
<i>Mr. Vaughan,</i>	<i>Sir Thomas Osbourn,</i>
<i>Sir Richard Temple,</i>	<i>Sir Charles Wheeler,</i>
<i>Sir John Holland,</i>	<i>Richard Hampden, Esq;</i>
	<i>Mr.</i>

Mr. Street,	Sollicitor General,
Mr. Thomas,	Sir Robert Atkins,
Andrew Marvel, Esq;	Sir Walter Young,
Sir John Denham,	Sir Thomas Tompkins,
William Prynne, Esq;	Sir Thomas Lee,
Mr. Steward,	Mr. Secreta. Morrice,
Mr. Waller,	Sir Humph. Winchcomb,
Col. Birch,	Hugh Boscawen, Esq;
Sir Job Charlton,	Sir Thomas Gower,
Lord Vaughan,	Lord Torrington, after-
Sir William Coventry,	wards Duke of Al-
Mr. Garraway,	bemarle.

After a short Debate about the Nature of the Evidence against the Earl of *Clarendon*, and the Manner of impeaching him, Sir *Thomas Littleton*, who was Chair-man of the Committee appointed to draw up Heads for an Accusation, presented them to the House, and when they were debated, Proof of them being requir'd; it was resolv'd, that the Members should speak to each Article what they cou'd say for it; and if none offer'd any thing sufficient to induce the House to pass it, then it should be laid aside.

The first Article related to his *designing a Standing Army*; which being read, the Lord *Vaughan*, and Sir *Robert Howard* said, they had heard from Persons of Quality, that it wou'd be prov'd.

The second Article charg'd him with having said, *the King was a Papist in his Heart*. To this the Lord *St. John* spoke, saying, *Persons of great Quality have assur'd me they will make it good; if they do not, I will acquaint the House who they are.*

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The third Article related to his receiving Money for Patents, and granting illegal Injunctions. To this Mr. Edward Seymour spoke thus, Sufficient Persons will make it good, and that he said with respect to one of the Patents, So long as the King is King, and I Lord Chancellor, the Patent will stand.

The fourth and fifth Articles charg'd him with having procur'd People to be imprison'd in remote Islands, against Law, and farming the Customs at under Rates. To which Sir Richard Temple said, Divers have undertaken to make it good, if they do not, I will name them; I am inform'd he had a Share for underletting them, and 90000 l. Bribe, for getting pretended Debts from the King.

Sir Thomas Littleton, ' It appears by the Farmers Confession, that they had it 50000 l. under, besides Time of Payment, which was 30000 l. more; Mr. Seymour said, tho' others had more, they were told they should not have it, and had about 1000 l. each given them to bid no more; Sir Thomas Osbourn, declar'd the Earl of Clarendon said, Bid who wou'd for the Customs, none should have them but the old Farmers.

The sixth Article was touching his receiving Money of Vintners, to free them from Penalties. To this Sir Robert Carr said, I know who will prove it.

The seventh Article related to his having rais'd a vast Estate, and got exorbitant Grants from the King. To which several Members spoke, as Mr. Edward Seymour, I suppose you need no Proof the Sun shines at Noon-day. Sir Thomas Littleton, ' The Matter of Fact in
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the Article, is easily made out, for his Place as Chancellor could not be worth above 4 or 5000*l.* a Year.

The eighth Article charg'd him with introducing an *Arbitrary Government in the Plantations*. To this Sir Thomas Littleton and Sir Thomas Osbourn spoke, acquainting the House, that Col. Farmer, a *Barbadoes* Planter, came from that Island to complain of it; and that he, with several other Planters, Mr. *Bawden*, a *Barbadoes* Merchant, and others complain'd of it by a Petition in Parliament, but Farmer was thrown into Prison, and the other Merchants and Planters so discourag'd by it, that their Petition dropt.

The ninth Article related to his *frustrating Proposals for preserving the Leward Islands*. To this Sir Charles Wheeler said, *My Lord Chancellor was the only Person who oppos'd it*.

The tenth Article was, touching his *corresponding with Cromwell and his Accomplices, when he was with the King in Exile*. Sir Charles Wheeler assur'd the House, *he could prove it clearly*; but it was agreed that he was indemnify'd by the Act of Grace, and the Article was expung'd.

The eleventh Article related to the *Sale of Dunkirk*, and Sir Thomas Osbourn, afterwards Duke of Leeds, said to it. *A great Lord told me, that the Earl of Clarendon had made a Bargain for Dunkirk three Quarters of a Year before it was known*. Several Members spoke to this Article for and against him, and it was debated, Whether it was Treason or not. To which Mr. Prynne said, *It cannot be Treason, because sold by the King's Consent*. Imen-
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tion this the rather, for that our late Managers may plead to any Charge against them about the *Peace, the Commerce Bill*, and the like, that it was not criminal, because they had the Queen's Consent ; but let them take along with them too what Mr. *Vaughan*, afterwards the famous Lord Chief Justice *Vaughan*, said in Answer to Mr. *Prynne*, If the King agree to it, doth it follow, that he who adviseth the King to a thing destructive to his Kingdom, is not a Traytor ? I think nothing in the World can be plainer, than that Traytor should be punish'd for the Advice, tho' such Consent may discharge 'em from the Treason. And this was the Opinion of one of the greatest Lawyers that ever England bred.

The twelfth Article was, concerning his altering a Pattent after Enrolment. Mr. *Street* informs the House how the Case stood ; The King, said he, gives a thing to Dr. *Crowther* ; in the Grant was a Mistake of a County. *Crowther* finds the Mistake, and petitions the King to amend it ; the King calls for the Chancellor and Seal, and in the King's Presence it was amended and sealed. Sir *Thomas Littleton*, The Crime seems as great as the Chancellor cou'd commit, the King was to present by such a Day, or not at all, the Error was found after that Day ; so that the King by Act of Parliament, had lost his Right ; the Chancellor did alter the Pattent, and the Record was fetch'd away by one of the Chancellor's Servants, and brought back, read, and alter'd, which might be done, and in other Cases is done, where a Word only hath been mistaken ; but that is in case of something perfectly in the King's Power, and to save new Sealing, but
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here could be no new Sealing, the time being elapsed : It was to throw another Man out of his Freehold, and is a great Crime.

The thirteenth Article was, touching his drawing Mens Lands into Question, and determining Cases of Law at the Council-Board. To this Mr. Thomas said, I shall be able to make it out.

The fourteenth Article was, about *Quo Warrantos* to Corporations. To which Sir Thomas Littleton said, This is so publick a thing, that it needs not be prov'd.

The fifteenth Article related to his procuring of Bills for the Settlement of Ireland. To this Sir Robert Howard said, ' I doubt not but it will be made out.

The sixteenth Article was concerning his betraying the Nation in foreign Treaties, and discovering his Majesty's secret Councils to his Enemies. Sir Thomas Littleton, This will appear by the Treaties themselves, putting us in hopes of Peace, and so hindring the Fleets fitting out. Lord Vaughan, ' I brought in this Article of betraying the King's Council to the French King, during the War, and that in the Secrecy of State, which was the Occasion of the late Mischiefs. Sir Thomas Osbourn, ' That is direct adhereing to the King's Enemies, and if so, it is Treason. Mr. Solicitor General, ' This must be Treason, if you have any Inducement to believe it. Sir Robert Howard, ' I have heard it from an Eye-witness, who told it me, and added, that we were neither to be trusted nor dealt with, who were so betray'd. Several others spoke to this Matter, and the Question at last was, Whether he had so far discover'd the

the King's Council, as to be guilty of Treason, which was carry'd in the Affirmative.

Yeas 161; No's 89.

The seventeenth Article was about the *Miscarriages of the War*, by his Means. To which Mr. Thomas said, *I want not Persons to bring to make it good.* Sir Thomas Littleton, Sir Edward Sprag desires Money to give an Intelligencer, and has it; Sprag brings the Intelligencer to the King, the King commands him to meet him at the Chancellor's; there he met the King, and then order was given to divide the Fleet. These Articles being read, Mr. Marvel charg'd Mr. Seymour with saying, when he mov'd the Matter against the Earl of Clarendon, that the Earl of Clarendon should have said, the King was insufficient for Government, which is left out of these Articles. To this Mr. Seymour reply'd, 'The Party that told me at first differ'd something afterwards; therefore I rather withdraw it, than to trouble you with Uncertainties, but a Gentleman in the House can give you further Satisfaction. Sir John Denham, A Peer of the Land heard the Earl of Clarendon say in a Coach, that the King was an unactive Person, and indisposed for Government. This will be made good, but the Words having been spoken before the Act of Oblivion, was past over. Upon the whole an Impeachment of Treason, and other Crimes and Misdemeanours, was resolv'd on, and Mr. Edward Seymour order'd to carry it to the Lords, which he did the 12th of November, 1667. making this Speech.

My

My LORDS,

THE Commons assembled in Parliament, having been informed of several Traitorous Practices, and other High Crimes and Misdemeanors, committed by Edward, Earl of Clarendon, a Member of this honourable House, have commanded me to impeach him, and I do accordingly impeach him of High Treason, and other Crimes and Misdemeanours, in the Name of the said Commons, and of all the Commons of England. And they have further commanded me, to desire your Lordships to sequester him from Parliament, and to commit him to safe Custody, and in convenient Time they will exhibit Articles against him.

But the Lords did not think fit to secure the Earl's Person, because the Charge was general, and without Proof, which gave great Offence to the House of Commons, and occasion'd a warm Debate about their Privileges in this Case, and Presidents. They had several Conferences with the Lords, who insisted upon it to have their Reasons for the Impeachment before they cou'd secure the Earl of Clarendon, who in the mean Time provided for himself, and fled to France. The House hearing he was gone, order'd Sir Thomas Clifford, Comptroller of his Majesty's Household, to desire the King, that the Ports might be stop'd, which was done; but the Bird was flown first. The Earl left a Kind of Petition behind him, to the House of Peers, in his own Vindication. This Petition was deliver'd

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at a Conference, to the Commons, by the Duke of Buckingham, who said, when he deliver'd it,

That the Lords had commanded him to deliver to them that scandalous and seditious Paper, sent from the Earl of Clarendon, desiring the Committee of Peers to present it to them, and to desire them in convenient Time to send it to them again, for it had a stile which they were in love with, and desir'd to keep it.

To the Right Honourable the LORDS Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, The humble PETITION and ADDRESS of Edward, Earl of Clarendon.

May it please your Lordships,

I Cannot express the unsupportable Trouble and Grief of Mind, I sustain under the Apprehension of being misrepresented to your Lordships, and when I hear how much of your Lordships Time hath been spent upon the mention of me, as it is attended with more Publick Consequences, and of the differences of Opinion which have already, or may probably arise between your Lordships and the Honourable House of Commons; whereby the great and mighty Affairs of the Kingdom may be obstructed in the Time of general dissatisfaction to all sorts of Government. I am very unfortunate to find by myself suffer so much under two very disadvantageous Reflections, which are in some degree applicable to me. The First, from the greatness of my Estate and Fortune, collected and made in so few Years

which if it be proportionable to what is Reported, may very reasonably cause my Integrity to be suspected.

The Second, That I have been the sole Manager and chief Minister in all the Transactions of State since the King's return into England, to August last, and therefore that all Miscarriages and Misfortunes ought to be imputed to me and my Councils.

Concerning my Estate, Your Lordships will not believe, that after Malice and Envy hath been so inquisitive and so sharp sighted, I will offer any Thing to Your Lordships, but what is exactly true; and I do assure Your Lordships in the first place, That (excepting from the King's Bounty) I have never received nor taken one Penny but what was generally understood to be the just, lawful Perquisites of my Office, by the constant Practice of the best Times, which I did in my own Judgment conceive to be that of my Lord Coventry, and my Lord Elsmore; the Practice of which I constantly observed, altho' the Office in both their Times was lawfully worth double to what it was to me, and I believe now is.

That all the Courtesies and Favours which I have been able to obtain from the King for other Persons in Church or State, or in Westminster-Hall, have never been worth me Five Pounds: So that Your Lordships may be confident I am as innocent from Corruption as from any disloyal Thought, which after near Thirty Years Service of the Crown, in some Difficulties and Distresses, I did never expect would be objected to me in my Age.

And I do assure your Lordships, and shall make it very manifest, That the several Sums of Mo-

ney, and some Parcels of Land, which His Majesty hath bountifully bestowed upon me since His Return into England, are worth more than all I have amounts unto; so far I am from advancing my Estate by indirect Means. And though this Bounty of his hath very far exceeded my Merit, or my Expectation, yet some others have been as fortunate at least in the same Bounty, who had as small pretences to it, and have no great Reason to envy my Condition.

Concerning the other Imputation, of the Credit and Power of being Chief Minister, and so tansing all to be done that I had a mind to; I have no more to say, than that I had the good Fortune to serve a Master of a very great Judgment and Understanding, and be always joyn'd with Persons of great Ability and Experience, without whose Advice and Concurrence, never any Thing hath been done.

Before His Majesty's coming into England, he was constantly attended by the then Marquis of Ormond, the late Lord Culpeper, and Mr. Secretary Nicholas, who were equally trusted with my self, and without whose joint Advice and Concurrence, when they were all present (as some of them always were) I never gave any Council. As soon as it pleased God to bring His Majesty into England, he established his Privy Council, and shortly, out of them he chose a Number of Honourable Persons of great Reputation, (who for the most part are still alive) as a Committee for Foreign Affairs, and Consideration of such Things as in the Nature of them required much Secresie, and with these Persons he vouchsafed to join me: And I am confident this Committee never transacted any Thing of Moment

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(His Majesty being always present) without presenting the same first to the Council-Board; and I must appeal to them concerning my Carriage, and whether we were not all of one Mind, in Matters of Importance.

For more than two Years I never knew any Differences in the Councils, or that there were any Complaints in the Kingdom, which I wholly impute to His Majesty's great Wisdom, and the entire Concurrence of His Counsellors, without the Vanity of assuming any Thing to my self; and therefore I hope I shall not be singly charged with any Thing that hath since fall'n out amiss. But from the Time Mr. Secretary Nicholas was removed from his Place, there were great Alterations; and whosoever knew any Thing of the Court and Councils, know well how much my Credit hath since that Time been diminished, tho' His Majesty graciously vouchsafed still to hear my Advice in most of his Affairs: Nor hath there been from that Time to this, above One or Two Persons brought to the Council, or preferr'd to any considerable Office in the Court, who have been of my intimate Acquaintance, or suspected to have any kindness for me; and most of them, most notoriously known to have been very long my Enemies, and of different Judgment and Principles from me, both in Church and State, and have taken all Opportunities to lessen my Credit with the King, and with all other Persons, by Mis-representing and Mis-reporting all that I said or did, and perswading Men I have done them some Prejudice with His Majesty, or crossed them in some of their Pretensions. Tho' His Majesty's Goodness and Justice was such, that it made little Impression upon him.

In my humble Opinion, the great Misfortunes of the Kingdom have proceeded from the War, to which it is notoriously known that I was always most averse, and may without Vanity say, I did not only foresee, but declare the Mischiefs we should run into, by Entering into a War, before any Alliances made with the Neighbouring Princes: And that it may not be imputed to His Majesty's want of Care, or the Negligence of His Counsellors, that no such Alliances were entred into, I must take the boldness to say, His Majesty left nothing unattempted in order thereunto; and knowing very well, that France resolved to begin a War upon Spain, as soon as his Catholick Majesty should depart this World, which being much sooner expected by them, They had in the two Winters before been at great Charges in providing plentiful Magazines of all Provisions upon the Frontiers, that they might be ready for the War. His Majesty used all possible means to prepare and dispose the Spaniard with that apprehension, offering his Friendship to that degree, as might be for the Benefit and Security of both Crowns.

But Spain flattering it self, That France would not break with them, at least, that they would not give them any Cause by Administring Matter of Jealousie to them, never made any real approach towards a Friendship with His Majesty, but, both by their Ambassadors here, and to His Majesty's Ambassador at Madrid, always persisted, as Preliminaries, upon the giving up of Dunkirk, Tangier, and Jamaica.

Though France had an Ambassador here, to whom a Project of a Treaty was offered, and the Lord Hollis, His Majesty's Ambassador at Paris,

ris, used all Endeavours to pursue and prosecute the said Treaty, yet it was quickly discerned, That the principal Design of France was to draw His Majesty into such a nearer Alliance as might advance their Design; without which they had no mind to enter into the Treaty proposed.

And this was the State of Affairs when the War was entered into with the Dutch, from which Time neither Crown much consider'd the making any Alliance with England.

As I did from my Soul abhor the entering into this War, so I presumed never to give any Advice or Council for the way of managing it, but by opposing many Propositions, which seemed to the late Lord Treasurer and my self to be unreasonable, as the Payment of the Seamen by Tickets, and many other Particulars, which added to the Expence.

My Enemies took all Occasions to enveigh against me, and making their Friendship with others out of the Council, of more licentious Principles, and who knew well enough how I disliked and complained of the Liberty they took to themselves of Reviling all Councils and Counsellors, and turning all Things Serious and Sacred into Ridicule. They took all ways imaginable to render me ungrateful to all sorts of Men, (whom I shall be compelled to name in my Defence) persuading those that miscarried in any of their Designs, That it was the Chuncellor's doing; whereof, I never knew any Thing. However, they could not withdraw the King's Favour from me, who was still pleased to use my Service with others, nor was there ever any Thing done but with the joint Advice of at least the Major part of those who were consulted with. And as His Majesty com-

manded my Service in the late Treaties, so I never gave the least Advice in Private, nor wrote one Letter to any one Person in either of those Negotiations but upon the Advice of the Council, and also after it was read in Council, or at least by the King himself, and some other; and if I prepared any Instructions or Memorials, it was by the King's Command, and the Request of the Secretaries who desired my Assistance; nor was it any wish of my own, that any Ambassador should give me any Account of the Transactions, but to the Secretaries, to whom I was always ready to advise; nor am I conscious to my self of ever having given Advice that hath proved mischievous or inconvenient to His Majesty; and I have been so far from being the sole Manager of Affairs, that I have not in the whole last Year been above Twice with His Majesty in any Room alone, and very seldom in the Two or Three Years preceding.

And since the Parliament at Oxford, it hath been very visible, that my Credit hath been very little, and that very few Things have been hearkened to, which have been proposed by me, but contradicted, eo nomine, because proposed by me.

I most humbly beseech Your Lordships to remember the Office and Trust I had for seven Years, in which, in Discharge of my Duty, I was obliged to stop and obstruct many Mens Pretences, and refused to set the Seal to many Pardons and other Grants, which would have been profitable to those who procured them; and many whereof, upon my Representation to His Majesty, were for ever stopt, which naturally have raised many Enemies to me: And my frequent concurring,

ring, upon the desires of the late Lord Treasurer, (with whom I had the Honour to have a long and vast Friendship to his Death) in representing several Excesses and Exorbitances, the yearly Issue so far exceeding the Revenues, provoked many Persons concerned, of great Power and Credit, to do me all the ill Offices they could. And yet I may faithfully say, That I never meddled with any part of the Revenue or the Administration of it, but when I was desired by the late Lord Treasurer to give him my Assistance and Advice, having had the Honour formerly to serve the Crown as Chancellor of the Exchequer, which was for the most part in His Majesty's Presence. Nor have I ever been in the least degree concern'd, in point of Profit, in letting any part of His Majesty's Revenue; nor have ever Treated or Debated it, but in His Majesty's Presence, in which my Opinion concurr'd always with the major part of the Counsellors who were present.

All which, upon Examination, will be made manifest to Your Lordships, how much soever my Integrity is blasted by the Malice of those who I am confident do not believe it themselves. Nor have I in my Life, upon all the Treaties, or otherwise, received the value of one Shilling from all the Kings or Princes in the World, (excepting the Books of the Louvre Print, sent me by the Chancellor of France, by that King's Direction) but from my own Master, to whose entire Service, and the Good and Welfare of my Country, no Man's Heart was ever more devoted.

This being my present Condition; I do most humbly beseech Your Lordships to entertain a favourable

unfavourable Opinion of me, and to believe me to be Innocent from those foul Aspersions, until the contrary shall be proved; which I am sure can never be by any Man worthy to be believed: And since the Distempers of the Times, and the Difference between the Two Houses in the present Debate, with the Power and Malice of my Enemies, who gave out that I should prevail with His Majesty to prorogue or Dissolve this Parliament in Displeasure, and threaten to expose me to the Rage and Fury of the People, may make me to be look'd upon as the Cause which obstructs the King's Service, and Unity and Peace of the Kingdom.

I most humbly beseech Your Lordships, that I may not forfeit Your Lordships Favour and Protection, by with-drawing my self from so powerful a Persecution, in hope that I may be able, by such with-drawing, hereafter to appear and make my Defence, when His Majesty's Justice (to which I shall always submit) may not be Obstructed, or Controuled, by the Power and Malice of those who have sworn my Destruction.

CLARENDON.

This Petition, or rather Remonstrance, having been read, Mr. Vaughan spoke to it first, and said, among other Things, 'Tis the first Time that ever I heard an Innocent Man run away under the greatest Charge, with hopes to return again and vindicate himself. Mark one Expression, he says, He is as far from Corruption as from Disloyalty. If he had said he was Guilty of neither, he had said something; but by that Expression he

‘ he may be guilty of both: So insolent a
‘ Paper I never met with in this Kingdom,
‘ nor have I ever heard the like in any other:
‘ so inconsiderable a part of the Nation as he
‘ is, to lay it upon the Nation, who, if inno-
‘ cent, might defend himself; if Guilty,
‘ why doth he charge the Nation with per-
‘ secuting? Therefore, without troubling
‘ your selves with it, do, as the Lords have
‘ done; who deliver it to you as a Scandalous
‘ and Seditious Paper, it hath Malice in it,
‘ and is the greatest Reproach upon the King,
‘ and the whole Nation, that ever was given
‘ by Man. Therefore put the Question,
‘ Whether this Paper shall not have the Cha-
‘ racter, that it is a *Scandalous and Malicious*
‘ *Paper, and a Reproach to the Justice of the*
‘ *Nation.*’ Which was carry’d in the *Affirma-*
‘ *tive.* Sir Robert Howard mov’d that it should
‘ be burnt by the Common Hangman, but that
‘ was oppos’d, because the Lords desir’d the
‘ Paper might be return’d; however, it was
‘ carry’d in the *Affirmative.* They then re-
‘ solv’d on an Address for a Proclamation, for
‘ *summoning the said Earl to appear by a Day, and*
‘ *to apprehend him in order to his Tryal;* but the
‘ Lords would not give their Concurrence to
‘ this Vote, they having past a Bill for banish-
‘ ing the Earl of Clarendon, which many of the
‘ House of Commons did not think a *sufficient*
‘ *Punishment.*

Mr. Trevor said, *What if he hath Life in o-*
‘ *ther Parts, his Family untainted, and his Chil-*
‘ *dren alive and enjoy his Estate.*

Sir Robert Howard, ‘ There is no Attainder,
‘ but if there had been such a Bill, the Thing
‘ which

‘ which should sway me, should be the Duke of York’s Marriage, &c.’ This Bill occasion’d a great Debate between those who thought it was not Punishment enough, and those who thought it was. At last it was put to the Question, and carry’d in the Affirmative.

Yeas 109, No’s 55.

This good Tory Earl had been impeach’d 4 Years before, 1663, by the Earl of Bristol, who exhibited Articles of High Treason, and other heinous Misdemeanors against him in the House of Lords; *That he assumed a supreme Direction of Affairs, and had spoken Scandalous and Contemptible Words of the King. That he had said his Majesty favour’d Popery, and advanc’d Papists to be Ministers of State; and if he himself did not stand in the Gap, the Protestant Religion wou’d be destroy’d in England. That he kept a Correspondence with the Cardinals and Court of Rome. That he had promis’d the Papists to get the Penal Laws taken away. That he had betray’d the King and Kingdom in the Portugal Match. That he had made the Duke of York believe the King would legitimate the Duke of Monmouth. That he had perswaded His Majesty to withdraw the English Garrisons out of Scotland, and demolish the Forts there built at vast Charge. That he had endeavour’d to make a Difference between the King and this Parliament. That he sold Dunkirk to the French. That he farm’d the Customs at under Rates, and appropriated the Publick Money in Ireland to his own Use, &c.* but the Earl of Clarendon had at that Time Interest enough to

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quash this Business, and to get clearing Votes of the House of Lords, *Nemine Contradi-cente*. Notwithstanding which, we have seen that he flies, and is banish'd for the Crimes those Voters clear'd him of. And this is enough to let the Guilty see, that such kind of Declarations of Ministers Innocence, when procur'd by Faction, are vain and useless; for that, when the Constitution is free, the Representative will retrospect, and bring those Criminals to Justice, who thought themselves screen'd by the Authority of the Prince they had impos'd upon, and the partial Judgment of an Assembly which was under their Influence. The Earl of *Bristol*, tho' a Papist himself, yet was not for subjecting us to the Pope; he was wont to say he was for the Church of Rome, but not for the Court of Rome; and the greatest part of his Articles against the Earl of *Clarendon*, dwell upon the Danger of the Protestant Religion, as well as of Liberty, by the Tyrannical Administration of this *High-flying* Minister. By which we may perceive, that the Papists themselves are not more dangerous to Liberty and Religion than the Tories, and that Honesty is not so incompatible with *Popery* as it is with *Toryism*. How much we have been oblig'd by this banish'd Earl's Family since, I need not repeat; 'tis too fresh in all our Memories. I must own, that at the Time this Earl fell into the Displeasure of that House of Commons, he began, either for his own Interest, or the Interest of the Nation, to oppose the Court Measures; to declare against a War with *Holland*, and for a War with *France*.
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He had disgusted the Court on more than one Occasion. I have been inform'd of Two in particular, which it is said they never forgave him. The First was his discovering an Intrigue carry'd on by King *Charles* and his Brother, the Duke of *York*, to get rid of their Wives under various pretences. The King was very fond of the Lady *Mary Stuart*, afterwards Dutcheß of *Richmond*, and as my Informant said, intended to marry her, if he cou'd get a Divorce from Queen *Katharine*. The Duke of *York* was as weary of his Wife, as King *Charles* was of his, and upon a Divorce design'd to marry the Lady ——— This Intrigue was carry'd so far, that a Bill or Bills were prepar'd to be brought into Parliament in order to it, and an Interest was made in both Houses to support them. But the Lord *Clarendon* got Intimation of it, and to damn this Project at once, gave out that the Duke of *York* was a Papist; which alarm'd the whole Nation to such a Degree, that they durst not proceed any further in so ticklish an Affair. The Report of it turn'd both Houses against him, and the Court was apprehensive that any Thing propos'd in his Favour, wou'd for that very Reason only miscarry in Parliament.

A Second Occasion of Offence given by the Earl of *Clarendon*, was his ruining another Court Project, which, had it taken Effect, wou'd have render'd all Parliaments useless to the Crown, and we may imagine that the Nation had seldom or never been at the trouble of chusing them. There was a

Scheme

Scheme drawn up by some Court Flatterers, for establishing such a yearly Revenue as wou'd have supply'd all the King's Wants, without the Necessity of any Parliamentary Subsidies. 'Twas so plausible, and wou'd have made the Court so easie, that the Earl of Southampton, Lord Treasurer, gave into it, not sufficiently considering the all Consequences of it. The Ministers had so many Pensioners in the House of Commons, that they cou'd not fail of carrying their Point there; and the House of Lords were so glad that they had got their King again, that they were in no Disposition to oppose any Thing which was for his Interest. The Earl of Southampton communicated this Scheme to the Earl of Clarendon, who after he had consider'd it a while, said, *It might probably do the King's Business, but what wou'd become of the Nation when Parliaments were become unnecessary to the Court.* The Earl of Southampton, who was a Man of Honour, and meant well, never thought of the Project afterwards, and the Court getting Intelligence of Clarendon's obstructing the Success of it, suffer'd his Enemies to fall upon him in this Impeachment. Many good Englishmen were disgusted with him for his former Tory Administration, and not taking him to be a true Convert, joyn'd in with those that were for ruining him, because the Court wou'd have it so. And the Party against him was compos'd of two different Sets of Men, the one consisting of *Principle*, the other out of *Pique*. *the B. said in a public manner.*

I have already given the Reader the Reason why those Papers which relate to the Earl of *Clarendon's* Impeachment, and should have been an *Appendix*, come in between those that concern *Fenwick's* Trial, and the Conspiracies carry'd on by the Jacobites and Tories against King *William*. It interrupts the Course of that History, but it cou'd not be avoided, the following Pages being wrought off before the preceding ones, and the Book lengthen'd to its full Extent. However, I was not willing to omit this Impeachment of the Earl of *Clarendon*, because the present Juncture is such, that Presidents of such Processes may be useful, especially considering that we have a very late Instance of a Person, who like the Earl of *Clarendon*, durst not trust to the Justice of his Cause, nor the Innocence of his Conduct, but secures himself by Flight from Punishment.

This short Account of the Lord *Clarendon's* Prosecution, will not put out of our Minds the inveteracy of the Faction against King *William's* Government. Among the most inveterate we shall find some of the most ignorant and immoral of the inferiour Clergy. If a Man of some Sense and Learning happens to be in their Company, that Merit of his will hardly atone for his Defects in Morals. I shall not enlarge on the Characters of the three Non-juring Divines who absolved *Friend* and *Parkyn*, and not *Charnock*, &c. as was mention'd before. This Insolence was so flagrant, that least the true Church of *England's* Honour should be affected by it, the Guardians of it, the Bishops, vindicated it in a most solemn and publick manner.

The

The Jacobite Faction did the highest Dishonour that cou'd be to the Church of England, in giving out that it was Her Principles of Loyalty which animated the Conspirators in prosecuting their Bloody and Villainous Attempts:

My Religion taught me my Loyalty, says Fenwick in the Paper he left behind him.

To the same purpose spoke *Friend* and *Perkins*, and the two latter were solemnly absolv'd at Tyburn by three Nonjuring Parsons, *Collier*, *Snat* and *Cook*; upon which there was so great Reproach cast on the Establish'd Church by these her pretended Sons, Assertors of the Divine Right of King *James*, and denying the Rightful and Lawful Title of his Majesty King *William*, that my Lords the Bishops were forc'd to put out a Declaration of their Sense of the irregular and scandalous Proceedings of certain Clergymen at the Execution of Sir *John Friend* and Sir *William Perkins*.

In the Declaration set forth by these Reverend Prelates, there are in two or three Paragraphs, many things which deserve especial Notice at this Juncture, and we therefore cannot omit inserting them, with some seasonable Reflections.

R

The

The first Paragraph relates to *Friend*, and is as follows.

‘ As to the Paper before-mention’d, we
 ‘ cannot but observe, that in that Part to
 ‘ which Sir *John Friend* is intitled, among
 ‘ many other things there deliver’d as his
 ‘ private Opinion, for which we must leave
 ‘ him to God, there are mingled some
 ‘ things concerning the Church of *England*,
 ‘ to the great Dishonour and Reproach of
 ‘ it.

This refers to the Assertions in it, of the
 Doctrines of the Church, in direct Opposi-
 tion to the Revolution and the Govern-
 ment built upon it, such as the Divine *Inde-*
feasible, *Hereditary Right* to the Crown, and
Passive Obedience and *Non-Resistance*, made
 use of only in favour of King *James* and his
 pretended Son’s Title, of late preach’d and
 asserted with the utmost *Effronterie*. The
 Bishops proceed :

‘ That Venerable Name is by the Author
 ‘ of that Paper appropriated to that Part
 ‘ of our Church which hath separated itself
 ‘ from the Body, and more particularly to
 ‘ a Faction of them who are so furiously
 ‘ bent upon the restoring of the late King,
 ‘ that they seem not to regard by what
 ‘ means it is to be effected. We have a sad
 ‘ Instance of it in this very Person, who,
 ‘ as

as was depos'd at his Tryal, was Privy to the horrid Design of Assassination; and yet neither discover'd it, nor shew'd any dislike of it, but *as he was afraid it might* Ruin King *James* and his Affairs; and was ready also, together with others of the same *Christian Principle*, as the Author of his Paper is bold to call it, to act in Conjunction with an Army of *French* Papists for the Ruin of their Country, and the Extirpation of that Religion which they themselves do profess.

There is nothing in the World that sets these Men in a truer Light, that shews more plainly their damnable Hypocrisy and notorious Inconsistency: They are for the Church, and yet out of Principle do those things that wou'd infallibly destroy it. They are for restoring the Constitution by a Conquest of *French* Men, and securing our Protestant Church by an Army of Papists. The Bishops further say:

As for Sir *William Parkins*, who also profess'd to die in the Communion of the Church of *England*, we cannot think he meant any thing else by it than that he adher'd to the same violent Faction that had withdrawn themselves from our publick Assemblies some time before their Death, which makes us the less wonder to find in both their Papers so light, and even favourable mention of that most inhuman Design of Assassinating his most Sacred Majesty, and especially in that of

‘ Sir *William Parkins*, who, tho’ he was publicly convicted of his having engag’d so many in that horrible Sin, yet after all could think to clear himself of it with this wretched excuse, *’Tis true I was privy to the Design upon the Prince, but was not to act in it.* Blessed be God, there never was any of our Church, that in any Change of Times could have this laid to his Charge, that he was so much as privy to a Design of Assassination.

Their Lordships here declare that such Churchmen as these Traytors, these Assertors of the Hereditary Right, are not of our Pale. What a Schism then have the *Nonjurors* made in it? And yet how favourably have they for these three or four Years last past been dealt with, and how have their Tenets been propagated, tho’ these Prelates profess in so solemn a manner their Abhorrence of them? ’Twas those Tenets that instigated these Assassins and Plotters to conspire the King’s Death, and invite the *French*, our most implacable Enemies, to invade us. These Tenets *Bedford*, another *Nonjuror*, has publish’d in defiance of our Law, has been condemn’d for it, and yet lives an Instance of Clemency rather than of Justice. His Brethren, the three absolving Priests, were indeed prosecuted at Law for their Insolence; but so Merciful was King *William* that he wou’d not suffer them to be made, as they ought to have been, Examples of Justice. The Lives and Morals of those Clergymen, especially of *Cook*, shew’d, that their

Con-

Consciences which stuck at a Lawful Oath to our Government, scrupled not at Things which our Religion is asham'd of and detests. This *Cook* was the same who led afterwards an obscure Life at *Hanwell* in *Middlesex*, in the House of the Earl of *Aylesbury's* Sister, who thought not fit to live with her Husband, and by his Sophistry and Insinuation so corrupted a Neighbouring Clergyman, Mr. *Lamb* of *Eling*, that tho' he had taken the Oaths to King *William*, he became a Nonjuror at his Death, and would never take them to Queen *Anne*. Much more may be said of these Persons, and of this *Cook* in particular, but their Names are unworthy a place in a History that is so general. The Bishops Account of the Absolvers will convince every good Protestant of the Heinousness of their Crime.

' For those Clergymen that took upon
' them to absolve these Criminals at the
' Place of Execution, by laying all three
' together their Hands upon their Heads,
' and publicly pronouncing a form of Ab-
' solution: As their manner of doing this
' was extreamly Insolent, and without Pre-
' cedent, either in our Church or any other
' that we know of, so the thing itself was
' altogether Irregular.

' The Rubrick in our Office of Visitation
' of the Sick, from whence they took the
' Words they then us'd, and upon which,
' if upon any thing in our Liturgy, they
' must ground this their Proceedings, gave
' them no Authority nor Pretence for the

‘ absolving these Persons ; nay, as they manag’d the Affair, they acted in this Absolution far otherwise than is there directed.

Thus these Three Absolvers broke the Laws of the Church as well as the State. These Pious Christians, whose tender Consciences could not allow of what had been allow’d by a Hundred to One, of all the Learned and Sober Clergy of *England* ; yet they could break in upon the Rules and Injunctions of our Church, to defy the Government, under whose Protection they liv’d, tho’ out of Humour, Pride and Obstinacy they disown’d its Authority. The Practice of these Clergymen does such an Honour to their Principles, which are those of *Non-Resistance* and *Passive Obedience*, of *Hereditary Right*, those of *Sach—*, *Hig—* and the rest of them, that I take Pleasure to see them so well manag’d by the greatest Lights and Ornaments of our Church.

‘ That Rubrick, *say they*, is concerning Sick Persons, and it is there requir’d ;
 ‘ *First*, That the Sick Person shall be mov’d to
 ‘ *make a special Confession of his Sins*, if he
 ‘ *feel his Conscience troubled with any weighty*
 ‘ *Matter* ; and then after such Confession, the
 ‘ *Priest shall absolve him*, if he humbly and
 ‘ *heartily desire it* : But here they absolved,
 ‘ and that publicly, Persons condemn’d by
 ‘ *Law for execrable Crimes*, without so
 ‘ much as once moving them, at that time,
 ‘ to make a special Confession of those Sins
 ‘ for

‘ for which they were condemn’d : And on
‘ the other side, here were Persons absolv’d
‘ that did not humbly desire Absolution, as
‘ feeling any such weighty Matter to trou-
‘ ble their Conscience ; but on the contrary,
‘ in Sir *John Friend*’s Paper ’tis declar’d,
‘ that he had a great deal of *Satisfaction* in
‘ *suffering* for that Cause, which he firmly
‘ believ’d to be the *Cause of God, and the True*
‘ *Religion*.

According to him, Tyranny and Idolatry
are the Cause of God : For as they did not
pretend to bring in King *James* without a
French Army, so King *James* and his Popish
Auxiliaries could not probably succeed with-
out the Destruction of our Liberty and our
Religion, which this *Suffering Tory* firmly
believes to be the *Cause of God*. But surely
not of that Great and Good God, who will
not be prevaricated with, and will one Day
make a terrible Distinction between his own
Holy Church, and the base Interests of Men,
who usurp her Sacred Name to support
them.

‘ If these Ministers knew the State of these
‘ Men’s Souls, *say their Lordships*, before they
‘ gave them Absolution, as it is manifest
‘ Two of them (*Mr. Snat* and *Mr Cook*) did
‘ not as to Sir *William Parkins*, they having
‘ declar’d that they had not spoke with Sir
‘ *William* till they were at the Place of Exe-
‘ cution, how could they, without manifest
‘ Transgression of the Church’s Order, as
‘ well as the profane Abuse of the Power

' Christ hath left with his Ministers, ab-
 ' solve them from all their Sins? They were
 ' acquainted with these Men's Sentiments,
 ' declar'd in their Papers, then they must
 ' look upon them either as harden'd *Impe-*
 ' *nitents* or *Martyrs*. We are so charitable
 ' to believe, that they would not absolve
 ' them under the former Notion, for that
 ' had been in effect sealing them to Dam-
 ' nation: But if they held these Men to be
 ' *Martyrs*, then their absolving them in
 ' that manner was a Justification of those
 ' grievous Crimes for which these Men suf-
 ' fer'd, and an open Affront to the Laws
 ' both of Church and State.

Now that the Jacobite Clergy and Faction
 look'd upon them as *Martyrs*, one may be
 assur'd by their Sentiments of Sir *John Fen-*
wick, whose Crime was the same: For they
 had indeed so contriv'd the Matter, that
 the whole Nation should have been sensible
 of the Martyrdom they had cut out for him,
 if the second Petition that was presented to
 the Lords in his behalf had been receiv'd
 without Alterations, and when presented
 to the King had been entirely comply'd
 with: If he had been respited for eight
 Days, according to the Petition, he had
 then suffer'd on the 30th of *January*; A
 Day they affected to have him die on, to
 add another Martyr to our Church, having
 the Insolence to compare his Sufferings with
 those of King *Charles I.* who was as Eminent
 for Zeal and Piety, as *Fenwick* had been for
 their Opposites.

The

The last Paragraph of the before-mention'd Declaration, is worthy the Reverend Character of these Protestant Prelates, and is a Reproach of the Tenets lately reviv'd and propagated, by the meanest and most scandalous of our Teachers.

‘ Upon the Consideration of these Things,
‘ and for the doing of Right to our Church,
‘ which may otherwise suffer among such as
‘ are Strangers to our Constitution, by the
‘ evil Principles and Practices both of the
‘ aforesaid Criminals and the three Clergy-
‘ men that assisted them, who all pretended
‘ to be Members of the Church of *England* :
‘ We do declare, that we disown and de-
‘ test all such Principles and Practices, look-
‘ ing upon them as highly Schismatical and
‘ Seditious, dangerous both to the Church
‘ and State, and contrary to the true Do-
‘ctrine and Spirit of the Christian Religion :
‘ And we also take this Occasion to warn
‘ and exhort all the People committed to
‘ our Charge, to beware of such Seducers,
‘ and to avoid them, least, as the Apostle
‘ St. Peter speaks, they be *led away with the*
‘ *Error of the Wicked*, and fall from their
‘ stedfast Adherence to the Principles of
‘ the true Church of *England*, as it was
‘ Establish'd at the blessed Reformation of
‘ Religion, and as by God's especial Provi-
‘ dence it continues to this Day.

Tho. Cantuar.

Jo. Ebor,

H. London,

N. Duresmne,

P. Winchester,

W. Cov. and Lich.

Tho.

Tho. Roffen,	Rich. Peterb.
Sy. Elie,	Ed. Gloucester,
Gil. Hereford,	Rob. Chichester,
Jo. Norwich,	E. Asaph.

These Fathers of our Church declar'd by this, that those who were not Men of Revolution Principles, were not of the true Church of *England*. What must my Lords of *Canterbury*, *Peterborough*, and *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, who are still Living, and a Blessing to their Country, say of the Things we have lately seen with our Eyes, and heard with our Ears? Is not this a *Schism*, the Growth of which ought to have been first provided against, this a Sedition and Faction that ought above all others to be suppress'd? May not we be determin'd by this Sense of these Protestant Bishops, and learn by that to abhor all the Abhorrrers of the true Church of *England* Principles of the Revolution. I have here only dip'd into this Affair, I have elsewhere gone a little deeper, and observe what Pains the Faction took to blacken King *William's* Government; for the Legal Execution of that Arch Traytor *Fewwick*, who with *Oglethorp*, and a third Russian, had the Insolence to Affront Her Majesty, Queen *Mary*, the best of Princesses, by Covering in Her Presence in the Park. This Man of himself, no otherwise of Importance than as he was an Enemy to his Country, gave the Parliament and the Government so much Trouble, and it was not improper for us to observe who were his Champions, and

and on what Bottom they built the Defence they made for him. We have found, that even these his Defenders declar'd themselves on all Occasions with great earnestness against those Principles which some of them have since profess'd in the most publick manner; and it will not be unpleasant to shew the Inconsistency there is, as well in themselves, as in their Opinions. Indeed, one does them too much Honour to call any thing said by them, Opinion; for they are of none, but what serves a present Turn and Interest, as has been seen by their Conduct in this Business, and in others that we have remember'd for them. Tho' 'tis a kind of Inhumanity to speak severe Truths of the Dead, yet since the Publick Good, and the Vindication of the best Government in the World require it, I have had no Complacency for those who had not the least for our Religion and Constitution.

Notwithstanding we are by no means Strangers to the *French* Vanity, and have seen or heard, that their King's is as much Superior to his Subjects as is his Dignity; yet I doubt not the Reader will be pleas'd to see some of the most Flagrant Instances of his most insupportable Arrogance, and the impious and flagitious Flattery of his slavish People. I shall also intermix in this Part of my Work, some of another Spirit in *France*, where the *French* have shewn that they were as sensible of their Monarch's Tyranny and Presumption as are their Neighbours.

His

His assuming the Name of *Great* in his Life-time, which never Man did before, gave an early Promise of his future Pride, and the Motto above his Crest, *Nec pluribus impar*, shew'd, that he would not, in the Course of his Life, be content with any thing less than Divinity. Indeed above his Picture at *Versailles* is written *Divo Ludovico*, and we shall see by and by, that his Godhead has Altars and Temples erected to him. What follows is an Instance of Blasphemous Flattery not to be parrallel'd by the most abject Slaves in the Times of the *Roman* Tyrants: If his most Christian Majesty did not approve of it, why accepted he of the Address of a whole Society of Monks, the General Chapter of the Order of the *Minims* in the City of *Marseilles*, with their Thesis of Theology, printed, with Allowance, at *Lyon* and *Paris* in the Year 1685.

The Title of the *Thesis* is this,

Dico ego Opera mea Regi. *Psalms* 45.

‘ *I dedicate my Works to the King*; being
 ‘ thus according to St. *Jerome*’s Translation,
 ‘ instead of, *I speak of the Things I have made*
 ‘ touching the King.

Selectæ Questiones ex universa Theologia.
 Quis iste Rex Gloriæ, fortis & potens in
 prælio. *Psal.* 24.

Select Questions in universal Theology,
 Who is the King of Glory, Strong and Mighty
 in Battel. *Psal.* 24.

An

And the *Theses* themselves begin thus:

Ludovicus Magnus ad Liliorum augmentum, & Felicitatem Populorum natus, in quo mirum, tum Fortitudinis, tum Sapientiæ Divinæ elucet Argumentum, quod unicum sufficeret ad convincendos Atheos, &c.

Lewis the Great, *born for the Glory of France and the Happiness of his People, in whom there shines an admirable Argument of Divine Wisdom and Fortitude, that alone is sufficient to convince Atheists, &c.*

‘ Here they run out in the Explication of
‘ the Nature and Attributes of God. The
‘ next Paragraph begins thus :

Lewis the Great, *King indeed, since he reigns not only over his Subjects, but his own Passions, being invincible, and strongly and sweetly overcoming all Things ; just as God by one single Will subjects all things to his Supreme Power, &c.*

‘ Here they endeavour to explain the
‘ Nature of Free-Will, and the Influence
‘ the Spirit of God has upon it. The third
‘ Paragraph begins thus :

Lewis the Great, *Strong in Zeal for Justice, a Powerful and most just Rewarder of all Good Actions, the severe Punisher of Duels, Blasphemy, and all Iniquity ; the true Imitator of God, who is so good as to repay by*
way

way of Recompence what he promis'd by way of Mercy, &c.

' Here they continue to explain Original Sin and Predestination. The Fourth Paragraph begins thus :

Lewis the Great, *so Powerful, so Wise, so Good, that there is none can be compar'd to him, or who has, as he, the Features of the most Holy Trinity, &c.*

' Here they continue to express their Notions of the Trinity, and the Union of the two Natures in the Person of Jesus Christ. The Fifth Paragraph begins after this manner.

Lewis the Great, *according to God's own Heart, Anointed with his own Holy Oil, of whom in a particular manner God commanded his Holy Angels to preserve him in all his ways, and whence the Existence of Angels is clearly deducible, &c.*

' Here they endeavour to give their Notion of Angels their Existence and Fall. The Sixth Paragraph begins thus :

Lewis the Great, *meditating only on Eternal Things, and knowing that the gaining of the whole World with the loss of the Soul, profiteth Nothing, and therefore seeking of God the alone Happiness that God of his Goodness has call'd Man to, &c.*

' Here

‘ Here they fall upon their usual manner
‘ of explaining the Blessedness of Heaven,
‘ and the Degrees of Glory. The Seventh
‘ Paragraph begins thus :

Lewis the Great, *Intent upon the Extirpa-
tion of Publick Sins, and the Increase of Inte-
grity of Manners and Virtue, and for that Ef-
fect giving most sure Laws through the Inspira-
tion of God the Supream Law-giver, &c.*

‘ The Eighth Article begins thus :

Lewis the Great, *Prodigy of the Grace of
God, &c.*

‘ The Ninth Article begins thus,

Lewis the Great, *the eldest Son of the Church,
who has restor’d to their Sees the Bishops that
had been banish’d by Hereticks, the Enemy of
Heresy, the Vanquisher of the Turks, confiding
only in God and burning in Love towards him.
The Example of Faith, Love and Charity, &c.*

Again,

Lewis the Great, *justly to be named the
King of Glory, Strong and Mighty in Bat-
tel, &c.*

The Priest who was to defend these select
Questions, was Father *Philibert Madon*,
Reader in Divinity in Presence of Father
Charles Guillet, Provincial of the *Minims*.
But what is this Thesis and the Panegyrick,
the

the Work of a poor Minim, who perhaps had no Notion of any Divinity above his Monarch, to the Panegyrick of Monsieur Pellison, that Monarch's Historian, one of the most Polite Writers in *Europe*, a Courtier, a Scholar and a Man of Sense? He says in a Speech he made at the admission of Monsieur Tallon into the *French Academy*. *I am sure, if ever any Prince deserved the Apotheosis of the Ancient Romans, or Translation into the Number of Gods, our Invincible and August Monarch merits it in a Transcendent Degree. All his Actions are Godlike, and his Influence in the whole Affairs of Europe is so universal, that he seems to participate of the Nature and Power of that Universal Inteligencer that Rules all Sublunary Things.*

Again, *If those Pagans who fondly would have sacrific'd to the two Apostles, and said of them, The Gods are come down among us, had been Witnesses to the Mighty Actions of Lewis le Grand, which contain in them so many Lineaments of a Deity they would have more Reason to have erected Altars to this Divinity of France, than to all those of Antiquity.*

Something of this Gentleman's Talent at Flattery, and of the fulsome Sacrifices he made of it to his Master, has been said in the First Part of this History; and I could entertain the Reader as long as he pleas'd on this subject, the Matter is so Copious, and the *French* have taken so little Pains to hide their own Vanity in swelling that of their Sovereign.

I do not meet with one Man's Story that was punish'd for these Blasphemies, at which I wonder the more, because these Slaves affronted their King as well as their God. One cannot think that the Great *Lewis* ever saw or heard of the Adoration they paid him, except in the *Place Victoire*, where the Parisians worshipp'd his Statue, till upon the humble Request of the Pious Archbishop of *Paris* a stop was put to it. But I do not hear the Inscription on one of the Gates of the City of *Paris* is raz'd out, nor the Hieroglyphicks remov'd. On one side the King is represented in the shape of *Hercules* with a Club on the Head of a Lion the Arms of *Holland*, and under his Feet the Eagle expiring, the Arms of the Empire, with this Motto, *Ludovico Magno abundantia Parta*; To *Lewis* the Great, *Abundance being obtain'd*. On the other side, the King is represented in the Habit of a Heathen God, holding the Helm of a Ship under sail, with this Motto, *Ludovici Magni Providentiæ*; To the Providence of *Lewis* the Great. There is another remarkable Inscription on the great Hall of the Invalids, where the King is represented driving the Chariot of the Sun, with Beams about his Head, and a Thunderbolt in his Hand; the four Parts of the World, *Europe, Asia, Africa* and *America* kneeling on the Earth in a Praying Posture, with their Eyes and Hands lifted to the Effigies, the Motto is, *Je plains a tous*; I shine to all.

A thousand such Instances may be taken from the Statues and Pictures in the Palaces

of *Versailles*, the *Louvre*, *Fontainbleau*, *Marli*, and over *France*, which Vanity of the *French*, and unexampled Pride and Insolence, grew still to a greater Excess in the first War between *France* and the Confederates, since the Revolution. The *Thames* among the rest has follow'd the Triumphant Car of the *Seine* like a Captive, and *England* kneel'd, as well as other Nations, to the Divinity of *France*. Good God! With what Confusion must the *French* look on such Arrogant Pictures, when the Terror of the *British* Arms made 'em tremble for their Capitol; when their Armies were routed all over *Europe*, and their harraßt Frontiers were crowded with Troops flying from all Quarters; when the Fields of *Germany*, *Italy*, *Spain* and the *Netherlands* were cover'd with their Slain, and Monuments of their Routs star'd Passengers every where in the Face. It must be own'd in Justice to a great Nation, that there have been always among them Men who scorn'd to adore the Deity these Flatterers would have set up, and who read their Flattery with Indignation. The famous Statue in the *Place Victoire*, was erected at the Charge of the Duke *la Feuillade*, for the Dukes were as great Flatterers as the Priests. A Lamp at first burnt always before it as at a Shrine; the Inscription was *Viro Immortali*; to which in the Night was added, when the Original was sick of a certain Distemper, *cum Fistula in Ano*; and in the first Year of the War, upon the Revolution, when Poverty began to shew her meagre Face in *Paris*, a large Hamper

Hamper was hung up one Night at the Feet of the Statue with four young Children in it, the youngest about four Months old, and the rest rising in Age about a Year in proportion, and upon a Piece of Parchment affix'd on the Pedestal these Words, *We offer up to you, great Saint, these poor Victims, which are your due, and it concerns you to provide for them, since you have left us nothing to do it our selves.* A Jacobine Fryar was found to be the Author of the Inscription, for which it was not doubted but he would be broke on the Wheel. The Clergy had with great Earnestness beg'd his Life, and were refus'd, but the King at his going to Bed finds a little Box on his Pillow with these Words written upon it, *Calivar enu'd edrag snerp suol.* His Majesty had not Learning enough at that time to interpret this Language; at last the Dauphin read it backward thus, *Louis prens garde d'une Ravalac, Lewis beware of a Ravilac.* The Fright which such a Threat occasion'd, procur'd the Jacobine's Pardon, and he was next Morning set at Liberty. Two or three Instances of this kind I shall remember, and then I think there will be enough of it. The Jesuits having erected a Statue of the King in their College at *Paris*, one of the Fathers made these Verses, which were affix'd to the foot of it.

Quidni, Monarcha Galliarum maxime,

Dicaris Athanasius;

Cum Bella totus Orbis indicat tibi,

Tu solus Oppugnaveris.

S. 2

The

The Night following, an unknown Hand affix'd below this Inscription, another :

Distat Tyrannus Phario Borbonius
Immane quantum præfuli !
Bonus castusque Ludovico pessimo
Quid Interest Athanasius ?
Quin Ismaelem Jesuitæ rectius
Vestrum Monarcham dicite,
Qui sicut omnes incessivit, omnium
Sic pertulit Injurias.

I should wrong these Verses by attempting to render them into *English*; the Sense of the first is, that the Great *Lewis*, like *Athanasius*, had all the World against him, and he was too hard for all the World. The Answerer would have the Monarch rather be compar'd to *Ismael*, who was against every Body, and every Body against him. The Sense of the latter is too strong for our Tongue in time of Peace, when Truth it self must sometimes give way to Decency.

The Part the *French* made the late King *James* play in an Holy Farce invented by them to the Honour of their Master, must needs give every Loyal *Briton* an Abhorrence of such Insolence and Presumptuous Pageantry. 'Tis a Hymn taken from Words of the Scripture in form of a Dialogue between King *Lewis* and King *James*. The latter is introduc'd imploring the Assistance of Heaven, and the former, his only support, assures him of the powerful Protection he demands against the greatest Enemy of the

the

the Faith. After King *James* has pray'd to Heaven, this Dialogue between him and his Protector follows, as it was compos'd by Father *Marthe*, and set to Musick by Monsieur *Mignon* in the Year 1690.

K. James. Grant your Protection, O great Prince, to me, whom you see a Stranger in your Court. 'Tis you that are my whole Strength and I look upon your Kingdom as my only Sanctuary.

K. Lewis. Put thy Confidence in God, he shall give thee the Desires of thy Heart, he shall make thy Justice come forth as the Light, and thy Righteousness as the Sun at Mid-day. Put thy Confidence in God.

K. James. Grant your Protection, O great King, to a Stranger that implores your Assistance, for you are my whole Strength and Refuge.

K. Lewis. Sit thou on my Right Hand, until I make thine Enemies serve for a Footstool under Thee.

K. James. 'Tis you that must re-establish me in my Kingdoms.

K. Lewis. I will pursue thine Enemies, and shall not cease to pursue them until they be entirely routed and destroy'd, &c.

As Ridiculous and Profane as this Dialogue is, 'twas look'd upon by all France to have been compil'd by the Academy of Paris, and was sung in several Religious Houses of that Kingdom : But all these Blasphemous Compliments were Trifles in

comparison of the *Temple of Honour*, the Invention of the Jesuit *Menestrier*, represented in the Year 1690. at the setting up of the *French King's Statue* in the *Town-House of Paris*, with the greatest Splendour possible. The Inscription was,

Regi Ludovico magno P.P. Votis publicis,
Devota, Numini Magistrati,que ejus ;
Civitas Parisiensis, pia, fidelis, obsequiens,
Memorijs Observantiæ Templum.

D. D. C.

Which may run thus in *English*, *The City of Paris, Pious, Faithful, Obedient and devoted by Publick Vows to the Godhead and Majesty of King Lewis the Father of his Country, has, as a Monument of their Respect, Dedicated and Consecrated this Temple.*

The Word *Numen* was never assum'd by the Vainest of the *Roman Emperors*, who pretended to Divinity; and it gave such Offence to all Men of common Modesty, that the Jesuit was forc'd to write a Letter in Vindication of his Inscription, for which he receiv'd no Check from the Court, but rather a Reward. The Parliament of *Paris*, the Courts of Judicature, the University, and all the Communities, assisted at the Dedication of this Temple to the King as the Citizens of lower Orders did not long after, at a Solemnity equally Impious and Villainous, which was drawing the Effigies of King *William III.* through the Streets in
Tri-

Triumph, on the false but welcome News of his being kill'd at the *Boyne*.

It was not only from the *Catholicks* that this Incense was offer'd to the *French King*, the very *Hugonots* shew'd that the Vice of Flattery was as National as that of Vanity. I would be understood to mean Particulars; for the *Hugonots* in general, had no doubt an Abhorrence for this Loyal Idolatry. 'Tis true, the *French King* did not receive it with equal Favour, perhaps because their Adoration was not quite so slavish and blasphemous as that of the *Papists*.

I shall only mention two of these Refugees, two contending Authors *Mr. Bayle* and *Mr. Jurieu*, and from thence we may form a Judgment of the idolatry paid by the *French Nation* to their King. These two Gentlemen fled *France* because they would not worship Idols, and see how they maintain that Purity of Conscience in their Exile.

' The King, says *Monsieur Bayle*, (in his
' *Miscellaneous Reflections*,) joining to the
' Character of *Philip* all that's solid in *Alex-*
' *ander's* Courage, is most capable of ma-
' king great Conquests, and most incapable
' of destroying the Advantages of Fortune
' by Acts of Temerity. Our Neighbours
' admiring the great Qualities of our Mo-
' narch, aspire to the Honour of being in
' the number of his Subjects. He gave
' Peace at *Nimeguen*, without receding from
' one Article of the Project he had order'd

to be printed several Months before,
whereas in the usual way Men insist on a
thousand Points in hopes to gain one.
Among the several Dispositions which o-
pen the King a way to the universal Mo-
narchy, are reckon'd several Prophecies
that promise the King of *France* the Em-
pire of the World, as those of *St. Austin*,
and in later Times of *Pareus*, *Dabritius*,
&c. Sovereigns who have Rights incom-
prehensible to the rest of Men, may call
a Neighbouring State to account for its
Ingratitude, as the King did in 1672.
Our King fill'd with Piety and the Love of
God, concludes it is more for his Interest
to leave all People in the quiet Possession
of their Right, than provoke a God who
will punish the greatest Kings for the A-
buse of their Power: And besides what
I just said of the Piety of our Monarch, I
make no doubt but his excellent Sense and
Insight into History will inform him of
the Instability of Fortune. Why may we
not believe that his Majesty, with all that
good Success of his, and having suffici-
ently discover'd what his great Soul and
Military Prowess are capable of, designs
to immortalize himself by Methods wholly
new, and in reality infinitely more deser-
ving Praise than Victories and Triumphs?
These new Methods, this Path to solid
Glory, is leaving *Europe* in Repose, at a
Time he might easily over-run it. From
whom can we expect so rare an Example,
as from a King like ours, whom God has
distinguish'd by so many Miraculous ways.
They

‘ They who say the King gave Peace to
‘ *Europe*, have more Reason on their side
‘ than they are aware of. Their meaning
‘ is, that his Majesty touch’d with Com-
‘ passion for his Enemies, who begg’d Peace,
‘ was pleas’d to grant them this Favour
‘ at the Expence of mighty Victories,
‘ which he might have thank’d no Body
‘ for. ’Tis much easier for the King to
‘ execute his great and vast Design of Uni-
‘ versal Monarchy than heretofore for the
‘ House of *Austria*, all the Strength and
‘ Forces of *France* being united under one
‘ Head, who goes forth himself with his
‘ Armies, and is Politick, Fortunate, and
‘ Brave, &c.

I might have enlarg’d these Encomiums of Mr. *Bayle* on the Prince that had sent him to wander about the World for a maintenance; but this sure is sufficient to give an Idea of the Vanity of a Nation, who value themselves every where on their King’s Glory. The Proud Cobler of *Paris*, thinks that a Part of it reflects on him, and he is oblig’d to his Majesty for all the Heroism he has about him.

The other Instance of the Flattery of the Refugees I hinted at, was that of Monsieur *Jurieu* in his Pastoral Letters, wherein his Language to the King of *France* is that of *Great Prince*, who delighted not in Blood, and whose Natural Spirit was that of Clemency, nor did he refuse Monsieur de Louvois some few Grains of his Incense, exhorting the Reform’d, never to hope for a re-establishment by the Hand
of

of Men or any Earthly Power, but from the Kings Goodness and Compassion.

The Author from whom I take this proceeds thus: *His Letters to the Duke de Montausier in favour of his little Prophets of Dauphine, were fill'd with his Majesty's Praises, whom he rank'd among the Gods of the Earth; and with Protestations of Zeal and Dutiful Affection for his Person.*

There is no Prince in the World who has had more Presents of this kind than *Lewis XIV.* and whether he loves them or not, it is certain he has not been ungrateful. I do not find there ever was an Edict publish'd in *France* to forbid Dawbers in Panegyrick to touch his Picture. Those who could make a fine Piece of it might do what they would with it, Likeness not being a Perfection so much to the Taste of that Monarch as Beauty.

I shall hint one Example of his Partiality to the *Catholick* Flatterers, before he recall'd the Edict of *Nantz*. In the Year 1682. *Mademoiselle le Fevre*, the Daughter of the famous *Tanaquil le Fevre*, and Wife of the more famous *Monsieur Dacier*, dedicated a Book to *Lewis XIV.* There was no Body at Court that durst venture to introduce her, because she was then a *Hugonot*; but the Duke of *Montausier*, who had been the Dauphin's Governor, and was a Man of Moderation, a sort of *Low-Church Papist*, hearing how she was neglected, offer'd to do it undesir'd, and having brought her with him in his own Coach, presented her and her Book to the King, who in Anger told

told him, *He did ill to give the least Countenance to any of that Lady's Religion, and for his Part he would give Orders to forbid his Name to be affix'd before any Book written by a Hugonot, and would order Mademoiselle le Fevre's Book to be seiz'd on upon that Account.*

The Duke de Montausier answer'd him with the same Freedom he always us'd towards the King, and which none durst imitate; *Sire, Est ce ainsi qui vous Favourez les belles Lettres? Je vous dis hardement, un Roy ne doit pas estre un Bigot. Is it thus, Sir, you reward Learning? I tell you plainly, a King ought not to be a Bigot. Adding, He would compliment the Lady with a hundred Pistoles in the King's Name, and he might chuse whether he would pay it him again or not, which he did accordingly.*

Having said so much of the Flatteries of France in their Addresses to their Monarch, it would be partial and unjust not to take Notice of the fair Applause given by some Men of Honour of that Nation to others besides their King, particularly to our late Glorious Sovereign King William. I shall take an Instance of it from Monsieur Auberey's Book, entituled, *Membires pour servir a l'Histoire d'Holland*, a Book written designedly against the Interest of the Prince of Orange, and yet the Author speaks of his late Majesty in a manner that might put many of his surviving Subjects to the Blush for their Ingratitude and Injustice to his Memory.

This

‘ This young Prince, says he, speaking of
‘ his then Highness the Prince of Orange,
‘ has from his Infancy given the greatest
‘ Marks of his Reservedness and Mode-
‘ ration. His Prudence increases as he
‘ grows up in Years : And all that
‘ pretend to know any thing of Merit,
‘ who are acquainted with him, do agree
‘ in this, that never Prince has given the
‘ World greater Hopes of himself. He en-
‘ dured with the profoundest Diffimulation,
‘ to use the Frenchman’s own Words, the In-
‘ juries of the *Barneveldt* Faction, restor’d
‘ in the Persons of the two *De Wits*, wait-
‘ ing with a Patience and Taciturnity,
‘ even beyond that of his Great Grand-
‘ father Prince *William* of *Orange*, the Ad-
‘ vantages of Time, and a favourable Oc-
‘ casion for his own Re-establishment ;
which the Author tells us the History of,
and then proceeds, ‘ The Prince of *Orange*
‘ saw himself at the Age of Twenty one
‘ Years, at the Head of an Army, as his
‘ Great Grandfather *William* Prince of *O-*
‘ *range* had been at that Age under the
‘ Emperor *Charles V.* And in the whole
‘ Course of this War he made appear to
‘ the World so much Conduct and so much
‘ Bravery in a great many Rencounters,
‘ Battles and Sieges, as certainly far sur-
‘ mount the Actions of his Renown’d An-
‘ cestors, who had set a Copy for Two
‘ hundred Years together, for the greatest
‘ Captains to imitate. If he had not had
‘ the unhappiness to be born in the Age
of

‘ of *Lewis le Grand*, whose Power, Genius
‘ and Fortune admit of no stop: This
‘ young Hero with a few Troops hastily
‘ levy’d, and but ill disciplin’d, had the
‘ Courage to make Head against this great
‘ Monarch, and his Conduct and Personal
‘ Valour in Battel made Victory for some
‘ Hours incline to his Scale, till at last he
‘ had the Consolation not to have yielded
‘ but to the greatest Prince on Earth. And
‘ it may be justly said of him, though an
‘ Enemy, that nothing but so glorious a
‘ Sun could lessen the Rays of this Rising
‘ Star.

The Testimony this *French* Author bears to the Merit of King *William*, and the House of *Nassau*, is a sort of Amends for the Extravagance of the Flattery of his Countrymen to the King of *France*; but Monsieur *Aubery* is not the only *Catholick* that has been proud of writing the Panegyrick of that Illustrious House. Cardinal *Bentivoglio*, when he was Legate in the *Netherlands*, wrote thus of the House of *Orange*, in a Letter to the Abbot *Cologna* from *Brussels*:

‘ This Family of *Nassau*, which makes
‘ so great a Figure in this Part of *Europe*,
‘ is remarkable in one Thing, that they
‘ have been often at the lowest Ebb of Fortune by espousing the Weakest, and as
‘ the Hereticks call it, the Afflicted side;
‘ but as if Fortune had seem’d only to
Frown

' Frown upon them at first, to render her
 ' subsequent Favours more conspicuous, the
 ' Princes of this Family have always been
 ' Fortunate in the final Upshot of their En-
 ' terprizes, and never attempted any thing
 ' of moment, without bringing it about to
 ' their mind at last. And 'tis certain they
 ' have had the Justest Mixture of the two
 ' different Genius's of those noble *Romans*,
 ' of which one was nam'd the Sword, the
 ' other the Buckler of *Rome*.

Thus far a Person who from a Principle
 of Religion and Interest, was an Enemy to
 his late Majesty's Family, and who, though
 an Enemy, thought it unjust to deny a Cha-
 racter they had acquir'd by so many Glorious
 Actions.

Generous and Ingenious Men of the Na-
 tion, that has most suffer'd by the House of
Orange, have taken hold of all Opportu-
 nities to do Justice to such surpassing
 Merit, as has always distinguish'd the
 Princes descendants of *William the Great*.
 ' The true Praises of a Prince, says a
 ' Learned Frenchman, are those which his
 ' Enemies are forc'd to publish, and there-
 ' fore Monsieur *Balzac* writing to a great
 ' Wit of *Holland*, and signifying his Esteem
 ' for *Frederick Henry*, Prince of *Orange*,
 ' thought to comprise all in these few
 ' Words, *I wish him a Glory his Enemies*
may be forc'd to allow, and which may not be
contested him in the Spanish Histories. Such
 a Glory was he possess'd of, and not only
 he

he but his Grand-son, our late Sovereign, whom the *French* King and *French* Princes have so often spoken of with Honour.

Yet what Invectives an inveterate Faction in *England*, loaded his Princely House, and his own Sacred Person with, may be seen in the former Parts of this Work; and their Rage continues still burning with the greater Fury, as they see 'tis ever impotent, and ends always in their Shame and Confusion.

'Twas these Men who implor'd the *French* King to send an Army hither with King *James*, and got a Memorial presented to him to that effect, not long after King *William* and Queen *Mary* were settled on the Throne of *Great-Britain*, as has been shewn in the preceding Pages, and these wicked Men continue the same Ingratitude to our present Sovereign King *George*, whom they seem to be set against the more, for that he is the invaluable Legacy left us by King *William* in the *Protestant Succession*. I have often observ'd, that my only design in writing this History, was to expose their Factious and Insolent Behaviour, and set their Pretences to Zeal for the Church in a true Light, to prevent the World's being impos'd upon by them.

I have the Happiness to see all their treasonable Contrivances brought to nought in his Majesty's peaceable Possession of these Kingdoms; and shall here conclude this Work, till a new Occasion puts me upon

upon reviving and continuing it, which nothing shall do but new Provocations from the Disaffected Party. Let all old Animosities be now forgotten, and all Britons unite in Duty and Affection to our most Gracious Sovereign.

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